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NO clearer proof of the utter meaninglessness of major party distinctions in this country is needed than that supplied in a single day's news by the announcement of the wholehearted support in the coming campaign by Senators Johnson and Reed of the Republican and Democratic parties, respectively. The League is universally accepted by both Democratic and Republican partisans as the one issue which differentiates the two platforms. In the primary campaign Mr. Hoover allowed himself to be drawn from his policy of political non-participation in but one instance—California—where he felt it imperative to challenge Senator Johnson's attitude on the League. After the convention Mr. Hoover promptly discovered that the platform was to his liking, and now Senator Johnson finds that it is "the only choice left those who believe in safeguarding, protecting, and preserving Americanism." Meanwhile Senator Reed's warm indorsement of the Democratic ticket recalls the fact that in Congress his stand against the League and on "Americanism" more nearly paralleled Johnson's than that of any other Senator. It would be difficult to find a better illustration of the political buncombe which is offered American voters in their "choice" of parties and issues in the coming campaign.

"THE crime of all the ages has accomplished nothing save the wreckage of a smiling world"—in these prophetic words wrote George F. Burba, editor of the *Dayton News*, on December 13, 1916. These and other senti-

ments written before we went into the war are now quoted by the Republican press in the first of the attacks upon Governor Cox in what Senator Harding declared was to be a campaign of principles and not of personalities. Naturally, Governor Cox "points with pride" to his war record as his defense, and makes it clear that he did not write in 1915 the sentiment that "victory by Germany was not the worst thing that could happen." It is really to laugh, for plainly the silly season is upon us. For ourselves, we think it is time to let the dead past bury its dead, so far as the beliefs of Governor Cox's journalistic employees are concerned, and to set up a statute of limitations on this sort of thing. The war is over, and some day we must realize it and act on the fact. But it is delightfully amusing to find the *New York Times* minimizing what in a liberal or Socialist newspaper it would call high treason, and to find Governor Cox "visibly perturbed" and the preachers of war hatreds in full cry. This early discord in the very temple of the preservers of our liberties and changeless institutions is a sight for gods and men.

THE Democratic Convention did well to nominate Franklin D. Roosevelt, former Assistant Secretary of the Navy, for the Vice-Presidency, for a finer type is not to be found in our public life. Only thirty-eight years of age, Mr. Roosevelt has already had a dozen years of experience of public affairs and has served well wherever placed. We strongly suspect that when the truth about Mr. Daniels's conduct of the Navy Department, particularly during the war, comes to be set forth, it will be found that most of the good things done are to be attributed to Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Daniels is, among other things, a weak and procrastinating executive, and he has been fortunate indeed in having so vigorous and tactful a subordinate to drive things through. In New York State politics Mr. Roosevelt has stood for the best. As State Senator he made an enviable record, and deserves to be remembered particularly for his stubborn fight in 1911 against the nomination of the notorious "Blue-eyed Billy" Sheehan whom Tammany and the "up-State" Democratic machine sought to send to the Senate to do the will of the big corporations. For the resulting compromise, the election of James A. O'Gorman, Mr. Roosevelt deserved the chief credit. A man of attractive personality, he is of a distinctly finer quality and truer independence than his distinguished cousin, Theodore Roosevelt, whose career he is so curiously paralleling as to give Governor Cox's friends ground for alarm if the Governor should be elected. From *The Nation's* point of view there is but one criticism to be made of Mr. Roosevelt; he is an ardent big-navy man and therefore an imperialist, and he has never opened his mouth to protest against the wrongs which are being committed by navy men in Haiti and San Domingo in the American name. But he is at least the kind of man who cannot sympathize with the persecution of people for their opinions which has been going on in this country since we stooped to enter the "market-place of war." He is at bottom inclined to the old American liberalism.

THE decision of the Spa conference regarding reparations and indemnities had not been made at the time when this issue of *The Nation* went to press. The Allied representatives, however, were reported to be willing to consider a more reasonable figure than the one which they had talked about at Boulogne as the amount of the indemnity. They were led to this conclusion, apparently, by an examination of the statistics submitted by the German representatives, showing the economic state and prospects of Germany; by the sensible argument that Germany could not determine how much it could pay until it knew whether or not it was to have Upper Silesia with its coal fields; and by the pretty clear intimation that no such sum as had been named at Boulogne would even be considered. In other words, it seems to have been made clear to the Allies that they had somewhat overreached themselves, that the German statistics were better than theirs, and that if the question of indemnity was to be settled at all the Allies must modify their demands. On the other hand, the German proposal that a fixed sum, to be paid in thirty annual instalments without interest, credit to be given for payments in commodities as well as for those in money, afforded a new basis for discussion. The settlement of the coal question had progressed no further than a protestation by Germany that it could not possibly deliver all the coal which the Treaty of Versailles called for without impairing its ability to pay indemnities, and a declaration by M. Millerand that the requirements of the treaty in the matter of coal could not be waived.

FOR the rest, the honors of the Spa conference—if one may speak of honors when Mr. Lloyd George acted the part of a bully and two or three swaggering German representatives talked as though Germany, and not the Allies, had won the war—were about equally divided. The German spokesmen were forced to admit that Germany had made no really serious effort to disarm, and were properly compelled to sign an agreement under which the *Sicherheitswehr* and *Einwohnerwehr* are to be dissolved, concealed arms to be given up, the *Reichswehr* transformed into a regular army in accordance with the treaty, and the other military provisions of the treaty, including those relating to aviation, complied with. They obtained, however, a six months' extension of time for the reduction of effectives, although the number of such effectives is not to exceed 150,000 on October 1. If the fulfilment of these terms is evaded, the Allies "will proceed to further occupation of German territory, whether in the Ruhr or elsewhere, and will continue to occupy it until the terms are wholly complied with." The Allies, in other words, back down from the position in which Mr. Lloyd George truculently placed them at the opening of the conference, Germany gets six months' leeway, and France may not be able to take the law into its own hands again as it did at Frankfort. As to the war criminals, the Allies will present further testimony and the Leipzig court will consider it. Dr. Simons, the German Foreign Minister, proved himself rather more than a match for Mr. Lloyd George in debate, keeping his temper and his manners in the face of the bullying tactics of the British Premier. Even M. Millerand felt compelled to declare that "we are not here to chastise Germany," that "the Allies are all agreed that Germany is a necessary and useful member of the European family," and that "our desire is to help her recover if she is prepared to execute her obligations."

THE Department of State is entitled to extremely little credit, and is likely to receive no more than it is entitled to, for its eleventh-hour action in permitting trade with Russia. After a whole cyclopaedia of facts demonstrating the gross partisanship, the evasions, the untruthfulness, and the ignorance of the Department about Russia has been made public, and after British merchants and manufacturers have had months of opportunity to capture whatever was most lucrative in Russian trade present or prospective, the Department has at last condescended to allow American traders to compete for what may be left. Even so, what is now granted is so hedged about with restrictions and explanations as to be practically worthless. There is still to be no recognition whatever of the Soviet Government; which means, of course, that no one may buy or sell goods or make any contract with the least assurance of legal protection in case the transaction comes into controversy. This would be bad enough in any case, but to the injury is added insult when the Department further announces that postal service between the United States and Russia will not be reopened, and that passports will not be issued or visaed. The American who shall build up a remunerative trade with Russia under such conditions should receive a medal for his ingenuity. The only thing needed to complete the farce is the statement, sent out from Washington in an obviously inspired dispatch, that the action taken "is expected to have more influence in breaking down Bolshevik propaganda in the United States than in actually restoring a heavy exchange of goods." The Department learns that "one of the most effective arguments" which the Bolsheviks have been using "in some countries" is that the Allies have been "starving innocent women and children." As Russia is a rather large country and the food shortage is admittedly severe, it is extremely likely that the Bolshevik argument will be confounded by the tiny amount of food that may presently seep in as a result of the Department's gracious concession.

AS we go to press, the Russians are driving the Polish forces before them and the Allies are reported as requesting an armistice from the Bolsheviks; otherwise the Allies may throw themselves into the war against them. When the Poles invaded Russia the Allies had no word of protest to utter, not even when the invaders penetrated hundreds of miles beyond the Polish frontier laid down by the peace-makers. Now that the Poles are being properly punished for their imperialistic folly, the Allies rush to their aid again against the Bolsheviks who are so wicked as to defend their hearths and homes and to expel the wanton invader. It will be interesting to see just where the Russian troops will stop, whether at their own boundaries or at those of Germany, or whether they will do the world the service of chasing the Grabskis, Pilsudskis, and Hallers out of Warsaw. Will Lenin be bluffed by this new blustering manifesto of Mr. Lloyd George? He must know that the British miners are for calling a general strike if their Government persists in lending aid to the enemies of Russia, and that the British dockers will load no more ships with ammunition to be used against their Russian brethren. Lenin must also be aware of the very delicate situation in the ranks of the Allies themselves. On the other hand, every instinct for the success of his own experiment ought to move Lenin to set an example of self-restraint even when victory is apparently in his hands.

WE do not blame the representatives of the anthracite operators for entering "vigorous objection" to the presentation before the Anthracite Coal Commission of Mr. W. Jett Lauck's material on profiteering. Seven railways, said Mr. Lauck, under the general control of the Morgan interests, dominate the anthracite industry, and the profits resulting from the production and sale of coal by their subsidiary companies "have appeared almost altogether in the dividends, reserves, and bond interest of the seven anthracite railways"; thus enabling the subsidiary coal companies to present a balance sheet innocent of profits. Railway men who demand a \$6 minimum daily wage are not, therefore, according to Mr. Lauck, fastening a suffocating burden upon the coal industry, as has frequently been claimed. They are asking only a small margin of a vast and increasing profit which only by a feat of book-keeping fails to appear on the ledger of the coal operators. Mr. Lauck said:

A survey of the anthracite industry shows an increase in net profits of the principal operators for the period 1916-1918 over 1912-1914 of nearly 90 per cent as compared with an increase in production of less than 12 per cent. . . . The immense profits reported by three of the principal mining companies for 1916-1918 are exclusive of the earnings of their separately incorporated selling departments and represent only a fraction of their actual profits. Since its organization in 1910 the Lehigh Valley Coal Sales Company, for example, has paid annual dividends at an average rate of nearly 20 per cent. The Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Coal Company, since its organization in 1909, has paid 300 per cent in dividends and has accumulated a surplus of \$5,973,595, or more than 90 per cent on its capital stock outstanding. . . . The actual increase in profits during the war years of the coal companies which market their own product is indicated by the income account of the Philadelphia and Reading Company. This company, which had no selling device for concealing its profits, increased its production only 11 per cent during the war years, but increased its profits nearly 500 per cent and its profits per ton of output 435 per cent.

These examples would seem to indicate moderation on the part of the miners, but they indicate, also, good sense on the part of the operators in attempting to prevent the public from learning the exact figures of their fat years.

WEST VIRGINIA drifts a little closer to catastrophe each month. Miners and armed guards are potting at one another, and occasionally some one is hit. The air is filled with talk of killing, but murder from ambush is not the wisest way of settling intricate, detailed questions of wages and labor. The matter in dispute is whether a few counties in the southwestern part of the State shall be unionized. The coal operators state their case as follows: "Outside paid agitators are at the bottom of every strike—in it for the money they can get out of it. A mine is shut down by these paid agitators from outside, because the owner will not agree to the principle of the closed shop. The owner offers the men more money. They tell him they do not want it, they want the closed shop. Living and working conditions in Logan County, for instance, are better than anywhere else in the State. The managers are young men who deal with the workers personally. We do not think that the United Mine Workers foster American ideals in their constant demand for shorter hours and higher wages which are stifling production and putting up the cost of living. We do not believe these unions will be able to stand. They are run for the benefit of their unscrupulous

paid heads, who are not producers." To this the United Mine Workers reply: "We have a right as citizens to enter those counties. We insist on entering." The next few months will see the dispute rage more hotly. The casualty list will be extended. England, long before the situation had reached its present crisis, would have set up a commission, half of operators, half of miners, with an acceptable neutral chairman. Each side would talk instead of shooting.

THE announcement that \$150,000,000 of alien property is to be returned to its rightful owners is but the first step in righting a grievous wrong and in wiping out a dishonorable stain on America's record. The arbitrary confiscation of alien property by Mr. Palmer in direct contravention of all international law was the more conspicuous because of our entry into war in order to check German lawlessness. Even now only partial restoration is proposed. Certain well-defined groups will be entitled to a return of their property "on formal application." When will restoration to all take place? And how will the announced partial settlement be effected? Will the owners receive their property at the value which it had at the time of seizure? Or will they be entitled only to its auction block worth or to the much-reduced present market value? These questions are important because they definitely involve American good-faith. Incidentally, another interesting issue raised by the war is again revived, namely, the status of American born and bred women who, because of marriage to aliens, forfeited their citizenship and property rights regardless of their American loyalty and sympathies. The women of this country, following their pending complete enfranchisement, cannot do better than to make the elimination from our statute books of this degrading distinction the first act of their citizenship.

NO words were considered too harsh to characterize the men who attempted to evade conscription during the war. No sentence was too heavy, no law too stringent which was aimed at the punishment of "dodgers" or the enforcement of the draft act. A slacker was held to be the lowest sort of criminal—a man who for the sake of his personal convenience or safety let other men die in his place, and failed in his obligations to his country. On July 7, sixteen men were had up in court in New York City for failure to respond to a summons to jury duty. They were not sentenced to hard labor nor called the names they might have been called, but they were, it is satisfactory to note, fined \$100 each. Different in degree, their offense is in principle closely analogous to that of the draft dodgers. These jury slackers forced several men to serve who had put forward claims legally exempting them from duty; they wilfully evaded the one form of personal service demanded by the country in time of peace. It appeared evident from the list of their occupations that most of them would have suffered no hardship by serving. Three of the sixteen were listed as "retired"—a word with comfortable, leisure-class connotations; three were listed as "president," presumably of some company; six were business men or merchants; there were two managers, a chemist, and an architect. If these most respectable persons are unwilling—even for a consideration—to lend their time to the country, military draft dodgers are at least an accountable phenomenon.

Europe's Old Doctors and New

IT is a year since the peace treaty was signed, and Europe has no peace. Some statisticians count up thirty wars in progress, but the figure is doubtful, for it has become difficult in many parts of Europe to distinguish war from peace. Almost every continental country lives in a state of more or less chronic civil war, and few frontiers are unguarded and disarmed. Indeed, many of the frontiers have not yet been determined. People are dancing in the cafes of the capitals and starving in the slums, and great stretches of once fertile country now lie untilled and unproductive.

This is more than the normal and inevitable aftermath of such a war. Nor is it a consequence of America's withdrawal from European affairs. It is more even than a product of the Treaty of Versailles. It is the product of the spirit which dominated the Peace Conference, which continued dominant in the Supreme Council and in the Conference of Ambassadors, which has blighted the successive conferences of San Remo, Hythe, and Spa—the spirit of pre-war diplomacy, grasping, hating all things new, striving to restore the old order. Until new men with a new spirit come into power in the two or three countries which determine European policy today, there is small hope for Europe. The men who supported Kolchak, Denikin, and Judenich in Russia, who tricked the Hungarians into ousting Bela Kun and then permitted Horthy's White Terror to rule, who have unleashed the Greek troops in Turkey, who have whipped Germany back into the hands of the men of the old regime, cannot be expected to lead the way toward a new era.

The collapse of Poland is the most recent revelation of their ineptitude. The young republic of Poland emerged from the war with a national faith and a vision of the future. Instead of being permitted to devote itself to the homely tasks of reconstruction, Poland was dressed up as the "bulwark against bolshevism," and forced into a campaign which may mean the end of the republic. Poles from Chicago were induced to cross the ocean, were trained by British officers, clad in French uniforms, and shipped eastward to add to the burden of the overloaded Polish budget. The whole crooked story of Allied diplomacy in Poland is not yet bare. France assisted the Polish army with money and officers—France, which sorely needed her own money at home; England gave Poland quantities of army supplies; our own War and Navy Departments surreptitiously granted unrevealed amounts of military and naval overstocks. It took weeks of questioning for the Labor members of the House of Commons to get Mr. Bonar Law to admit that Britain was aiding Poland. On May 6 he specifically denied that the Allies, or any one of them, were giving moral or material support to Poland in its attack on Russia. On May 20 he admitted that in the previous October

a request was addressed by the Polish Government for assistance in their military equipment. In consequence of our commitments elsewhere the British Government were unable to give any financial assistance, but they offered to supply a certain quantity of surplus stores on condition that the cost of moving them as well as the arrangements for transport should be undertaken by the Polish Government. This offer was accepted, and in consequence of this gift the material in question became the property of the Polish Government, and part of it is now being shipped by that Government.

Part of that part was the cargo of the Jolly George which

British sailors refused to move, and which was accordingly discharged and left upon the London docks.

The Poles tell us that the Entente encouraged their offensive. Mr. Lloyd George tells us that he discouraged it; Mr. Bonar Law says the Poles were told that Great Britain could give them no advice; Mr. Churchill is discreetly silent. No faith can be put in the statements of these men. It has now been shown that Mr. Churchill, Britain's War Minister, took orders from Admiral Kolchak, and begged his Russian friends to keep it dark because Mr. Lloyd George might not approve. It was this same Mr. Churchill who solemnly assured the House of Commons that the British Government had had no advance knowledge of the Polish offensive which drove hundreds of miles beyond the Polish racial frontier in April and May, when as a matter of fact the British all the time had a naval mission of twelve men in Poland, and a military mission of fifteen, headed by a general, with the Polish army. Such men cannot be trusted; they may change their minds and modify the terms of their treaty, but Europe can expect no respite from its sufferings as a result of their forced hesitations. They seem utterly to lack any sense of the human cost of war, any interest in the lives of the men whom they use as pawns and throw away on lost and undeserving causes; yes, they lack elementary morality. Participation by America in their decisions would mean only complicity in crime.

Is the situation of Europe, then, hopeless? Is Europe condemned to a slow decay toward anarchy and chaos? Far from it. For, in the face of the failures of the diplomats a new force is rising. There is the crew of the Jolly George. There are the British railwaymen who urge a general strike if British troops are not recalled from Ireland. And there are the workingmen of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia who, faced with the plight of their fellows in terror-stricken Hungary, and with the absolute refusal of their rulers to take notice of crimes where they so obviously had control, voted and carried out an economic blockade of Hungary so effective that the proud Government of Hungary was forced to send mediators to treat with the representatives of, if you please, the International Federation of Trade Unions. In these groups, gropingly conscious of their new power, lies the hope of Europe. The lettering on the machinery of government matters little in comparison with the spirit of the men who pull the levers. It is not the fact that these men are labor men, but the fact that the idealism of Europe today finds its expression through labor, that matters. The plight of Europe may well seem hopeless to one who regards only Millerand and Lloyd George and the political contingencies which make their power, or the power of men like them, so firm; but strong as is the grip of these men upon their official positions, other forces are undermining their power and compelling them, if merely as opportunists, to curb their desires and change their policies. The conference at Spa has its importance; but the historian of the future will be more interested in the railwaymen who refused to carry British soldiers in Ireland, the sailors who refused to transport munitions for Poland's imperialistic campaign, and the central European workmen who refused to transport supplies for a Government that ruled by a white terror.

Labor in the Party Platforms

IF labor can still content itself with generalities and platitudes, it should find a good deal that is soothing and comforting in the labor declarations of the Democratic and Republican platforms. The Democratic Party, "now as ever the firm friend of honest labor and the promoter of progressive industry," "points with pride" to the various acts relating to workingmen's compensation, child labor, the eight-hour day, vocational training, and other subjects with which the present Administration is to be credited, and to the "many bitter disputes" between labor and capital which have been "peaceably determined." As to the future, the platform concedes to labor as well as to capital the right to "adequate compensation," organization, collective bargaining, and the choice of representatives to speak for it. Neither, however, "should at any time nor in any circumstances take action that will put in jeopardy the public welfare." Strikes and lockouts, accordingly, "which endanger the health or lives of the people," are properly characterized as "an unsatisfactory device for determining disputes," and the Democratic party pledges itself "to contrive, if possible, and put into effective operation a fair and comprehensive method of composing differences of this nature." What the "fair and comprehensive method" is is not intimated, but compulsory arbitration in private industrial disputes is summarily rejected. By implication the right of government employees to strike is denied, the platform laying down the principle that, "with respect to government service . . . the rights of the people are paramount to the right to strike." The grievances of government employees, however, are to be redressed.

What is there in all this for labor? Frankly, not much. It is gratifying, of course, to know that the salaries of government employees, if the Democrats win the election, will speedily be brought "to a just and proper level," that collective bargaining will be approved in principle, and that there will be no more futile experiments with compulsory arbitration. But the most careful reading of the platform shows nothing tangible and solid of which labor can take hold. The general phrases with which the few specific proposals are surrounded recite the old familiar platitudes about the "rights" of labor, "justice" for those who work, and the duty of recognizing the "reciprocal obligation between the workers and the state." The visionary notion of a "public" which somehow is neither capital nor labor, but which is nevertheless likely to be grievously disturbed when labor and capital fall out, underlies the whole document. Save as collective bargaining, which the platform merely mentions without discussion, may work some mitigation of the evil, the Democratic Party apparently expects that industrial society in this country will go on as before, capital and labor organizing their hostile camps, haggling and fighting over wages and hours, filling the newspapers with charges and countercharges of bad faith and violence, and eventually compromising their differences under some "fair and comprehensive method" yet to be "contrived."

The Republican platform, although at one or two points more specific, is as a whole no better. It recognizes the justice of collective bargaining "as a means of promoting good will, establishing closer and more harmonious relations between employer and employees, and realizing the true end of industrial justice." It denies "the right to

strike against the Government," and approves of "government initiative" to reduce the frequency and limit the consequences of strikes and lockouts. For the adjustment of disputes in public utilities it proposes the establishment of an "impartial tribunal" which shall investigate facts and render a decision, such decision, however, to be morally but not legally binding. In the case of private industries, on the other hand, "impartial commissions" and "better facilities for voluntary mediation, conciliation, and arbitration," supplemented, as in the case of public utilities, by full publicity and the influence of "an informed public sentiment," are the methods to be relied upon.

Perhaps it is true that the majority of wage-earners in this country are as yet more concerned with the problems of daily existence than they are with economic or political theories; more bent upon securing the highest wages and the shortest hours possible, even if they have to get them by strikes, than they are upon working out new relationships with employers or with the community. To such the declarations of the Republican and Democratic platforms will appear equally vague and indifferent. But the progressive workers may certainly be relied upon to condemn both platforms as unsatisfactory. They will not wax enthusiastic over a formal recognition of the "justice" of collective bargaining so long as the two leading parties, in their official declarations of faith, show no comprehension of labor demands as a whole. The crux of the labor situation today is the demand of labor, not for higher wages or shorter hours, but for a voice in the control of industry. Until that problem is squarely faced, enlightened labor will look upon the proposals of the platforms as little more than devices for keeping up appearances.

A New Spanish Hero

SINCE the war it has become rather unfashionable as well as unbecoming to accuse the Spanish genius of medieval barbarism on account of its attachment to the bull-ring. Barbarism, we have learned, clings to the most sophisticated and modern of human accomplishments—to science and art, to learning and statesmanship—because it inheres still in the human heart. Customs vary but impulses remain, waiting to be released when the right stimulus is applied. The savage eats the flesh of his defeated rival; the white man sears the lungs of his enemy with liquid fire. The Spaniard supports the bull-ring; the American or Britisher, if he isn't engaged in "bumping off" natives in Haiti or India, gets his fun in the prize-ring. The only difference seems to be that the Spanish sport has developed a redeeming literature, inevitably romantic; while its hold on the imagination of the Spanish people has developed some traits which are charming and picturesque.

We recall, for instance, an adroit piece of German propaganda circulated among the common folk of Spain during the war. A daughter of the American President, Señor Wilson—so the story ran—had married a poor but heroic Spanish matador. Before long the young man, at the very start of his career, died a glorious death in the bull-ring; and shortly afterward a child was born to his wife, the daughter of the American President. The father and mother of the brave young bull-fighter were old and poor, but honest and hard-working. They did their best to care for their son's wife and the little baby. Finally, however,

despairing of giving the child the chance in life which it deserved, the old man wrote a letter to the baby's other grandfather, the American President. He asked for help in the support of the President's daughter and his grandchild. But President Wilson never even replied!

We have the word of an American who met this story all through the country districts of Spain that it was generally believed and that it created more anti-American sentiment than any other combination of elements could have evoked. To ignore an appeal in behalf of your own daughter's child—that is base enough, especially if you are rich and powerful. But when that child is the issue of a hero, the son of a matador—that is worse than stony-hearted. So argued the sentimental Spanish peasant, and thanked God he need not fight for such a man.

And now Joselito, greatest of matadors, lies dead, and Spain has already insured his immortality. On every street corner minstrels sing his deeds, children learn his story from their nurses, peasants chant it in the fields; a new, endless song of Roland is being born.

The London *Times* tells an incident that adds the last touch of romance to the life and death of this latest Spanish hero. While dressing for the fatal fight at Talavera, Jose-lito sang a song originally composed in honor of an earlier hero of the ring. He modified it to make it appropriate to his own case—much to the distress of his servant—and on that day he was killed. A few of the interminable series of verses run as follows:

Go not to the meadow,
The flowers have faded,
For the king of matadors
Lies dead at Talavera.

On May 15,
In Madrid plaza,
Jose had bad luck
And the fight was a sorry one.

While he was being hissed
A spectator shouted madly:
"May a bull kill thee
Tomorrow at Talavera."

A calamity, indeed,
That cry portended,
For Jose was tossed
And at Talavera died.

When Joselito fell
Under that terrible stroke,
He pressed his hands to his stomach,
Where the wound was.

And on the ground he lay,
That unequalled torero,
His lifeblood flowing out
From the great rent.

"These and other *coplas*," says the correspondent of the *Times*, "will be sung by the cobbler in his grimy little den, by the lonely *arriero* following his mule along the dusty track, by the laborer as he wends his way home from the fields. They will cross the Straits to the army in the Riff, and the Moors, hearing them sung at the Spanish camp fires, will recognize in the tune, if not in the words, the melancholy note of the East that still survives in Spain."

Politics on the Cobb

IF the truth must be told, writes one correspondent at the San Francisco Convention, "the really dominating figure at this gathering has been Irvin W. Cobb." When he strode through a lobby conversation ceased, men gaped with amaze; when he laughed, the rafters rang with the echoing roar; where'er he walked his Falstaffian way, the throng pursued him. Is he not one of the heroes of the *Saturday Evening Post*, therefore of the great American people? Is it not said of him among the multitude that he is the highest priced of American literary fellers? We think the correspondent right. We venture to say that if there had been a secret ballot among the delegates as to whom they would rather see in the White House, without regard to politics or to party allegiance, Irvin Cobb would have polled a whopping vote. Instead, he received but one vote and a half to Ring W. Lardner's half a vote. Even this was a great tribute, for no one stopped to inquire whether Irvin was a Democrat or a Republican. One American and half of another dared obloquy and ridicule in plumping for Irvin, and the other stray half of a delegate raised Ring to the dizzy height of an immortal place in all future editions of Stanwood's "History of the Presidency."

The only thing that surprises us is that the mention of these names did not start the long-expected stampede. Surely only the exhaustion of the delegates prevented. The mere appearance in the balloting of these two men must have brought refreshment and stimulating memories of a laughing past. And what a prospect the possibility of such a nomination must have brought up! Visions of a joyous, rollicking, happy campaign, all good nature and fun, without a word about anything grave or serious like the cost of living or the League of Nations or labor or capital—surely, if America is entitled to anything after these strenuous war years, it is to laugh its way over the difficulties of the hour. Is there anything our war-torn nerves need more than the salve of humor to calm them and to aid us back to our mental equilibrium, to let us see facts as they are, to let us plot and plan, and each go his own little way, as unheeding of the world as in the good old days before the war? Why, if Irvin Cobb had but been nominated, and pledged to a daily statement on the state of the nation and the feelings of a first-rate Presidential candidate, Warren Harding would not even have been in the "also ran" class. It would have availed him nothing, this dear, prosy old Senator from Ohio, with all the familiar sentimentality and platitudinous pomposity of the provincial, ear-to-the-ground politician, to enlist Ring Lardner and F. P. Adams, or even such a fearful humorist as Christopher Morley, on his side. We venture to say that Irvin Cobb would have laughed himself into the White House with irresistible, elephantine jocosity and carried every State save Ohio.

One touch of humor surely makes the whole world kin, and however diluted Mr. Cobb's humor may be it would, we are sure, get three-quarters of the vote of every American. We hurry this suggestion into type because the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth parties are holding their conventions as we write. Let but one of them nominate a humorist—no, we dread to put down in black and white what we think the consequences would be. Gideon as a destroyer of grouped edifices would have to take second place in history. Talk about packs of cards! Anybody with half the lance power

of Artemus Ward would set all our American thrones to rocking; a James Russell Lowell come to life as a new Hosea Biglow would bring on the revolution. Palmer or no Palmer, our ticket is Irvin Cobb for President, and Ty Cobb for Vice-President—the American people's own.

The Happy Ending

THERE is an old and proverbial quarrel between the public and the artist over the question: How should a story end? The matter is as stale as last week's loaf. Then why reopen it? Because no one seems consciously to understand it or to get beyond the words and the superficial emotions to the actual things involved. Even the readers of Harold Bell Wright would be a little shocked could one convey to them a full sense of precisely how their hunger for a happy ending is being fed. The serious novelist, on the other hand, is often merely morose and contemptuous. Driven in upon himself by a universal worship of sweetness and slush—which accounts for the small sale of his works—he comes to attribute an absolute value to grime and gloom, and misses the infinite humanity and pathos of the cry for a happy ending.

The controversy is not nearly so simple as either side assumes. For, omitting the story of mere adventure or mystery, every novel does, somehow, through the larger symbolism of its concrete fable, answer the question: How shall a man be saved and be content? The author's conscious intention does not touch the fact. Every ordinary reader, whether he formulates it to himself or not, sees in every story an implied answer to that central and supreme demand. And who shall blame this common reader—an absorption in the abstract processes of art can scarcely be his—for wanting to be told how the soul can be saved and life made livable? He has neither the leisure nor the mental power to enter into the vast and complex considerations from which the scientist and the philosopher will at times derive a bleakly negative conclusion. Nor can he risk the paralyzing of his vital energy which such a conclusion would entail for him. The very great novelists have never shirked the valid humanity of the demand for a happy ending in this necessary and fundamental sense. How shall a man be saved and happy? "Be good!" is the answer of Richardson; "don't be a sneak!" is the answer of Fielding; "be a gentleman!" is the answer of Thackeray. All these answers seem quaint and pallid today. "Clarissa Harlowe" and "Tom Jones" and "Vanity Fair" survive through their creative energy. But to their contemporaries the authors of these books spoke from no cool height of vision; they spoke amid the heat of the conflict of life. Nor did the naturalists disregard the living requirements of their art. Beneath every somber and polished sentence of "Madame Bovary" pulses the almost frantic monition: "Don't be a vulgar and romantic fool!" In every novelist there lurks a savior of mankind, and it is no paradox to assert that Flaubert himself sought, by his very scorn and detachment, to increase the number of happy endings in life if not in art.

Within the past thirty-five years the problem has grown far acuter, because a happy ending has become far more difficult to achieve. No honest thinker can any longer tell his readers to be good or to be gentlemen; that is, to find happiness or salvation in conforming to external and fixed standards of conduct. For it is clear that involuntary obe-

dience corrupts the soul and that the old codes have lost all power of bringing the will into harmony with their dictates. It follows that the protagonist of the modern novel must first find or create the values by which to save his soul and live his life; that he must, in other words, achieve a personal and unique reconciliation with the universe. The result is to make the great modern novels, from "Wilhelm Meister," prophetic of the whole matter so long ago, to "The Way of All Flesh" and "Jean-Christophe," stories of seekers and wanderers and to impose on them a more or less biographical form. Nor can the modern novelist forget that a personal reconciliation with fate involves even the most aloof spirit in some contact with the turbulent social and economic conflicts that fill his world. Hence life bursts into art at a thousand points, destroys the rounded form of serene surfaces and delicate exclusions, and strains the novelist's energy to the very utmost. Yet ever, as this process continues, the artist's own demand for a happy ending grows in urgency. He must, quite for his own sake, desire some synthesis, some certain values, some rational interpretation of the sum of things. Thus he is at once creator and protagonist, savior and lost soul; he is the food and also the hunger that craves it. It is he himself who, in the last analysis, must want a happy ending. There are exceptions. With gaunt hollowness of tone and gloomy satisfaction Dreiser proclaims chaos. Far more characteristic of our period is Wells, who hastens feverishly from one search after reconciliation and peace to another and gives himself no time or quietude to reach a happy ending in his own mind. And supremely characteristic is Henri Barbusse who, in "Clarté," proclaims a happy ending for all mankind through the destruction of the regnant moral and economic order.

No, we have no quarrel with the happy ending. Man must have happy endings to live at all. Our quarrel is with the falsely happy ending, the "faked" happy ending, the happy ending upon unreal and impossible and childish terms. It is that sort of happy ending which, to our misfortune, the contemporary American editor has in mind. For his public is not realistic in temper; it insists on a moral illusionism whose very militancy speaks of inner decay, and desires still to be told in art that the short cut to salvation and contentment, interpreted by it as conventional behavior and money in the bank, has been found and need but be taken. Hence it comes that our poetry and our criticism are extraordinarily superior to our fiction in quality and temper. The novelists, alas, are almost helpless to effect a change. The resistance is too massive and the confusion of thought too profound. Other means must bring some doubt, some flexibility of mind, some desire to be born again and acquire a clearer vision, to the vast levels of our national life. Mr. Coningsby Dawson is sorry that he was not born in America. He made a tour of the country, and writes: "Until I undertook that tour I had the foggiest conception of the country in which I was living—a conception based on hearsay and novels which were out of date. After I had completed my tour, I found that I had made this amazing discovery—that America, as she is today, is in the main unrepresented in the fiction of her contemporary novelists." Here, then, if anywhere, is the novelist's rich and virgin soil. Yes, if he could plow it up and in toil and sweat wring a happy ending from the stubborn earth. At present he whirs across it in a motor-car, peddling ointments and plasters for mutilations which he must half feign not to see.

The Conquest of Santo Domingo

By LEWIS S. GANNETT

SANTO DOMINGO is conquered territory. The Dominican has less independence and fewer rights than had a Belgian under German occupation. He has not even the consciousness that there are crusading nations to defend his rights. "The rights of small nations" do not include his country. American boys died to free Poles, Czechoslovaks, Jugo-Slavs, and Belgians; but in this hemisphere they suppress Dominicans.

Some Americans may salve their colored consciences by the thought that Haitians are black, and that what we do to Haitians must therefore be discounted. Dominicans are white: we have not even the invalid excuse of color. We, the United States of America, who prate of democracy and republicanism and small nations and rights, have driven out the lawful officials of the Dominican republic, dissolved the congress, forbidden elections, ruled by martial law and sanctioned atrocities—and with an ironic honesty unequalled even in Prussian annals we solemnly declare that we will continue to rule "in accordance with the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Santo Domingo in so far as these are not modified by the military government."

There is no President in Santo Domingo, no cabinet, no congress, and there has not been for four years; there is only the arbitrary rule of the United States Marine Corps. There is a censorship so dictatorial and so humorless that the word "*Liberty*" is stricken out from the program of the *Teatro Libertad* in the capitol city. By official order of the United States authorities it is now plain "*Teatro*." And this in the name of America, while we were fighting to make the world safe for democracy!

American intervention in Santo Domingo began in 1905 and culminated in 1916. It was precipitated by financial adventuring and chronic revolution. Bond issues had been issued freely at usurious rates of interest. An American financial expert in 1905 found the national debt to be \$40,000,000. Much of this had been taken over by a New Jersey corporation entitled the San Domingo Improvement Company, which secured control of the Dominican customs, but effected only one improvement—the completion of a railroad, and this with Dominican funds. The origin of the debts was unsavory, the interest payments irregular or in default, and dissatisfaction was general. In 1904 the Improvement Company, which some years before had been ousted from the customs houses, re-secured control of the customs of the port of Puerto Plata, and this led to uneasiness and threats of similar control by French and Italian creditors. The Dominican government appealed to the American, and President Roosevelt, in the spring of 1905, named a General Receiver of Dominican customs, who succeeded in scaling down the foreign debt to \$20,000,000 and getting a loan for that amount from an American bank. A treaty ratified in 1907 confirmed this procedure. It was part of this agreement that the Dominican government should not, until this debt was paid, increase its public debt unless with the consent of the American Government.

But a new series of revolutions beginning in 1911 led to an increase of the internal debt, which was in 1912 transferred to another New York bank. The American navy had

repeatedly given moral support to one side or the other in various disturbances; in April, 1916, when a new revolution threatened further harm to American interests, the navy, with the consent of one faction, landed marines near Santo Domingo, took the capital on May 15, landed at the principal other ports in June, and finally "pacified" the entire country, with a loss of seven Americans killed and fifteen wounded, as against several hundred Dominicans. For a few months a nominal Dominican Government persisted. The American military authorities insisted that the Dominicans agree to a treaty similar to that which had been forced upon Haiti, providing for collection of customs under American auspices, the appointment of an American financial adviser, and the establishment of a native constabulary force officered by Americans. This they refused to do, and the American authorities thereupon cut off their income. The Dominican Government was left penniless and impotent.

A proclamation of November 29, 1916, frankly put supreme power into the hands of the American military government. That proclamation recited that because of failure to carry out the treaty of 1907, and in a desire to obtain domestic tranquillity—

"the republic of Santo Domingo is hereby placed in a state of Military Occupation by the forces under my command, and is made subject to military government and to the exercise of military law applicable to such occupation . . . with no immediate or ulterior object of destroying the sovereignty of the Republic of Santo Domingo but on the contrary to give aid to that country in returning to a condition of internal order. . . ." The original of this proclamation, signed by Captain H. S. Knapp of the U. S. S. Olympia, contains marginal annotations in the hand of Woodrow Wilson. A censorship decree followed, and, on December 4, Executive Order No. 1:

It being necessary to the purpose of the occupation that the offices of Secretary of State of the Departments of War and Marine, and of Interior and Police, be no longer administered by Dominican citizens but be administered by officers of the United States forces in occupation,

It is ordered that until further notice Dominican citizens are ineligible to hold, and cease to hold, such offices, which are hereby vested in Colonel J. H. Pendleton, U.S.M.C., Commanding the forces of the United States on shore in Santo Domingo.

H. S. KNAPP,

U. S. S. Olympia, December 4, 1918.

Captain, U. S. Navy.

Other orders followed in rapid succession, removing the ministers of Foreign Relations, Finance, Justice, Agriculture, etc., and naming officers of the American navy to fill these offices and administer them, in the choicest of phrases, "according to the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Santo Domingo, in so far as these are not modified by the military government." Executive Order No. 12 was brief: it declared that "for the present and until further notice no elections will be held in the Republic of Santo Domingo." No. 18 is longer. It should be noted that some Dominicans who still clung to independence, had held local elections and attempted to reassemble a congress:

As no quorum of the Dominican Congress exists, due to the expiration of the terms of office of certain members of the Senate and House of Deputies, and to the fact that such elec-

tions as may have been held to fill the vacancies so caused will not be recognized as valid by the military government, having been held under the direction of an administration not recognized by the United States, and to the further fact that all elections have been suspended for the present by Executive Order No. 12 of December 26, 1916,

It is ordered,

1. That the sessions of the Dominican Congress are suspended until after elections shall have been ordered and held to fill vacancies now existing;

2. That the Senators and deputies whose terms have not expired are likewise expelled from office until the full Congress shall have been called into session and that their emoluments shall cease.

U. S. S. Olympia, January 2, 1917.

H. S. KNAPP.

There may have been need for financial interference; there never was and could never be, excuse for such ruthless suppression of every institution of popular government and for the substitution of a military despotism.

Incidents in the atrocious history of that despotism have been recited by Archbishop Adolfo Nouel, and are printed elsewhere in this issue. Other incidents, including the use of naval airplanes as an instrument of "pacification" were told in *The Nation* for February 21. If such things had happened in Armenia or Belgium, the American people and press would be at fever-heat in denunciation. They happened at our own doorstep, under our own flag, in the name of the American people, and we are silent.

Captain Knapp of the Olympia, who sponsored these orders, was promoted to Rear Admiral, and in 1919 was succeeded by Rear Admiral Thomas Snowden. There has been no substantial change in the methods of government. Perhaps in partial response to a memorandum presented to the American Government at Washington by the exiled president of the Dominican Republic, Dr. Francisco Henriquez y Carvajal, Admiral Snowden last October named a Consulting Board of four prominent Dominicans to meet with him on Wednesday afternoons "to discuss matters relevant to the welfare of the Republic." The four Dominicans accepted, in the understanding that a new policy was to be inaugurated, that the censorship would be abolished, that the provost courts would give way to civil courts, and that at least local municipal elections would be held. They presented three memoranda to the Admiral, which are printed on another page in this issue of *The Nation*. These memoranda are careful, modest, almost humble, suggestions for first steps toward a restoration of self-government in Santo Domingo. They followed Henriquez y Carvajal's memorandum. The Admiral replied, in conversation, that Santo Domingo would continue to be a republic and would have a congress, but that he, the Admiral, would be the Congress. The only official answer was a new censorship decree, also printed elsewhere in this issue of *The Nation*. The Consulting Commission, convinced that they were not to be consulted seriously, resigned; the Admiral, in reply, "regretted" their resignation, and assured them that their memoranda were being "studied."

That is the story to date. It is a story which, told with more color and detail, is going the rounds of Latin America. It does not engender love for the United States nor enhance our reputation for good faith. So long as we tolerate such business under our own flag, in the interests of banks which invest in risky republics, the speeches of our presidents and the pronouncements of our party platforms, will be a stench throughout Latin America.

The Tragedy That Is Poland*

By BENJAMIN GINZBURG

PARIS, June 10.

IT is difficult for the traveler who passes through the immense expanse of territory that goes to make up the present Republic of Poland to gather any other impression than that of hopelessness and despair. The war has never ended in that section of Europe, and the atmosphere of war seems to lie like a pall of cloud over everything, spelling inevitable and eternal doom. Talk to the common people—the common people to whom politics has always seemed the fatal play of powers beyond their control—and they will tell you that the war is eternal. They do not openly doubt your word when you tell them that the war is over for part of Europe and for America, but they remain incredulous. It is too big a tax on their imagination to conceive of a state of things in which peace has been restored. By a curious twist of human psychology these people have become accustomed to war as the normal thing, and almost come to dread peace as bringing with it the dangers of the unknown.

There are others besides the common people who have become a prey to the abnormal psychology of war. The aristocratic and cultured ruling classes have organized the new state under a philosophic conception of things remote from the normal realities of life. They have begun with a romantic and idealistic notion of the Polish nationality, and the desire to return to historic medievalism, like the pre-Raphaelites in art. They have left no room in their speculations for such a reality as the distasteful presence of 5,000,000 Jews [in Poland proper, the Jewish population is about 3,000,000, the higher figure including the Jewish population of White Russia and the Ukraine, to which Poland lays claim], and when they find themselves face to face with this reality they lose their heads. More than one Polish publicist has shrieked for the extermination or expulsion of the entire Jewish population of Poland so that the Republic of the White Eagles might better realize the abstract and a priori conception of nationality. The waves of pogroms and Jew-baiting riots in which the Polish intelligentsia frankly encouraged the destructive passions of the masses are the expressions of rage of the visionary when brought into hard contact with reality.

The same estrangement from reality is manifest in the economic and political policies of Poland. Economically, the plight of Poland is lamentable. Poland is today living on what it can get from the Allies as the warrior-defender of civilization against Bolshevism. While it may be true that civilization has to be defended from the menace of the Soviets, a more realistic people than the Poles would have asked themselves whose business it was to defend civilization, and whether they could afford to ruin themselves in a war which they fought single-handed for the interests of other nations.

The naked truth of the matter is that while England and France are putting hundreds of millions into Poland for war purposes, they are not putting in one shilling or one franc for purposes of reconstruction and peace-time production. As a field for investment, foreign capital is afraid to venture into Poland, fearing the unsettled conditions, but it is good business for England to hire the Polish army to

* This article was written a month ago and its evidence is more than confirmed by current events in Poland.

exercise military pressure against the Russian Soviets with a view of extorting more favorable trade concessions from them. And as for France, whose politics are probably not so involved as those of England, while it stands a good chance of not receiving any return on the money lavished on Polish munitions, its investors are chary of putting money into the country for exploiting its resources after their sad experience in Russia.

So immersed are the Poles in their romantic historical speculations that they do not realize that the controlling factor in the creation of a strong Poland was not the righting of historical wrongs, but the estimated service to Allied policy. In the same way were created Czecho-Slovakia, the Baltic states, and the various anti-Bolshevist governments of Russia. In each case a part of the price of their existence was the waging of an offensive against Soviet Russia, but Czecho-Slovakia and the Baltic states, as soon as they realized the facts, extricated themselves from the net of Allied policy.

As long as Poland continues the war against Bolshevik Russia it is assured of free food and clothing for its army, while the governing class is relieved of the problem of unemployment and is afforded a plausible excuse for postponing the solution of the agrarian question. The Polish aristocracy is not brave enough to tackle the knotty problems of reconstruction, which will have to be tackled sooner or later; and in allowing the abnormal war economy to prevail it is immensely complicating the tasks of the future. Poland was cut off from Russia by a surgical operation severing all the ligaments which formerly united it with Petrograd, Moscow, and the other Russian centers. If the country is not to bleed to death economically, it is necessary to tie up the wounds at once, and establish new trade communications. So far from this being done, the military administration of the country paralyzes the little trading that has been built up with Warsaw as a center. A consignment of cloth for the provinces has to be literally smuggled out of Warsaw in order to reach its destination, because the box cars are entirely taken up for military purposes. The factories at Bialystock and Lodz are forced to remain idle because there is no way for them to get raw materials. Over a large part of the country the medieval stage-coach has had to be reinstated because of the irregularity of the train service. Even in the large centers, civilians have to fight to get standing room on the few cars available for civilian traffic.

And yet all this suffering and disorganization spring out of a war which is waged primarily because Poland refuses to accept the Soviet Government of Russia as a reality. Pilsudski cries that he cannot make peace before there is a constitutional government in Russia. That has also been the cry of all the Allies, and yet they have found means of drawing themselves out of the war and letting others do the fighting.

There is not a single statesman, not a single political party in Poland with sufficient courage to demand peace. The National Democrats, a party representing the conservative aristocracy, have of late manifested a desire for peace, but have not dared to insist on their point. The Polish Socialist Party is pursuing the path of least resistance, and is more jingo than the frankly chauvinist parties. As for the other political divisions, there is nothing to mark either the originality of their views or the courage of their opinions.

The result is that Poland is drifting toward a catastrophe. It is not drifting toward organized revolution or toward communism, but to an unredeemed state of economic chaos. A crushing defeat or a sudden military panic may send the whole structure crumbling. The only potent force under such circumstances would be a strong workers' organization, but this has still to be developed, and the Government suppression of the freedom of speech and the freedom of assemblage is doing all that it can to assure chaos in the event of a revolution. In any program for the redemption of Poland, peace with the Bolsheviks is the first essential. But should even that be realized, conditions will not immediately take a turn for the better. The task of peace financing will present an almost insoluble problem without foreign help. The demobilization of the army will throw into the cities tens of thousands of men without occupations for whom work will have to be found. These are but the usual after-the-war problems which statesmen in the countries surrounding Poland are making an earnest effort to solve. Poland cannot expect to avoid them, nor can she, as Dr. Keynes has well said, hope to live on the sole industry of Jew-baiting.

Manitoba's Startling Election

By A. VERNON THOMAS

WHEN Huck Finn's alcoholic "pap" wished to convey that he had on hand a generous quantity of whiskey he invariably described the supply as enough for two drunks and one delirium tremens. The startling result of the general election in the Canadian Province of Manitoba, the oldest of the western provinces, seems to demand some similar standard of comparison. At any rate liberals who have had to witness the panorama of tragedy, unrolled during the past few years, may be pardoned some mild measure of spiritual intoxication when they understand what has happened in Manitoba. Here it is in a nutshell:

Frederick J. Dixon, a Labor man, who, for his stand against the war, endured the abuse of friend and foe, was mobbed, charged with sedition, arrested, thrown into prison and for a time refused bail, heads the poll in Winnipeg with a huge plurality, a surplus of 7,274 votes as against a surplus of 73 won by the Attorney General, a machine politician. The Rev. Mr. Ivens, Labor candidate, who lost his pulpit through his pacifist views; John Queen, Social Democrat, and George Armstrong, Socialist Party of Canada, all of them now in prison, are all elected for the City of Winnipeg. They are serving sentences of one year each for alleged seditious conspiracy in connection with the general strike of last year. Eleven Labor, Labor-Farmer, or Socialist candidates, have been elected in the Province, four in Winnipeg and seven outside. In the previous Legislature there was but one Labor man—Dixon—while outside of Winnipeg no Labor man was ever before elected. At one bound Labor now becomes the chief opposition with Dixon its probable leader. The Government loses some seventeen seats and with them it loses control, as it now has twenty members in a House of fifty-five. A group of ten Independents, mainly farmers, has been elected and nine Conservatives.

The *Manitoba Free Press*, the chief organ of the Government, in an editorial upon the result, practically invites the

Conservatives to dissolve as a party. It goes on to say that:

As for the Conservative Party, the vote has made clear to all what has been quite evident to everybody who looked at the matter coolly—the fact that its strength has gone from it. It is a dying party which can never be revived. The Conservative Party in Manitoba is well along the road which its namesake in Australia traveled some years ago, the end of which will be absorption by some party which is alive.

Modesty—or is it doubt?—restrains the *Free Press* from naming the party “which is alive.” In Manitoba something has happened which can no longer be hid, although the *New York Times*, at this writing, has not had the heart to inform its readers what has taken place. For the *Times* devoted many columns last summer to blackening the character of the Winnipeg strike leaders. It is now to be sympathized with if it feels no stomach for recording that four of these same strike leaders, three of whom are in prison, have been elected to the Manitoba Legislature, and that one of them heads the poll in the city of Winnipeg by a huge plurality.

Primarily the verdict in Winnipeg represents a revulsion of feeling in favor of the strike leaders, notably in favor of Mr. Dixon, whose acquittal a few weeks ago, after a defense which he conducted himself, will remain for many a long day one of the great trials of Canada. The seizure of the strike leaders, and the whole course of the prosecution, were marked by blind passion on the part of the authorities.

Mr. Dixon is one of the big men of the Canadian West. He went out to Winnipeg some fifteen or sixteen years ago from the English biscuit town of Reading. For some years he worked in Winnipeg at his trade, that of designer. About this time he read Henry George's “Progress and Poverty,” and became not merely a disciple of the great land reformer, but a veritable evangelist of the Single Tax. He made constant headway. After years of soap-box oratory, he gradually won his way to indoor favor, addressing farmers' meetings, church gatherings, political conventions, and progressive groups of all kinds. His frank, open, radiant face bespoke absolute sincerity and intense conviction. It was a joy to his friends to see his big athletic figure and listen to his great voice, which is of Madison Square Garden caliber. Although relatively unknown, and quite inexperienced politically, he came, in 1907, within an ace of upsetting one of the old-time and old-line politicians of Winnipeg. Finally, when the Liberals at last came into power in the Province, in 1915, Dixon enjoyed so much popularity that although insistent upon running as an Independent no Liberal opposed him for the Winnipeg seat he contested, and he received the highest majority obtained by any candidate in the whole Province.

But the war spirit was even then developing and it meant a Calvary for Mr. Dixon. From the first he took the pacifist viewpoint and steadfastly refused to join in the orgy of hatred and unreason. He simply maintained the beliefs and opinions he had always held. He continued to say what he had always said, but slowly his star began to sink. Old friends deserted him. Magazines and newspapers which had delighted to honor him and have him write for them found it undesirable to have his name appear in their pages, or if it found a place there it was for the purpose of abuse and cynical comment. Meetings at which he spoke were broken up, and on one occasion he was attacked by a mob and personally assaulted. A demand was made that he resign from the Legislature. Dixon replied to this by introducing a recall bill applicable to every member. This chal-

lenge was refused and he kept his seat. But the tide of popular favor had now left him high and dry.

One scene which took place in the Manitoba Legislature will not easily be forgotten by those who saw it. It was January, 1917. Dixon had made a speech against the war. He had demanded that nothing be left undone to secure peace. He had asked whether the Allies were as disinterested as they claimed to be, whether after all the boys were not dying for a myth. He quoted from Henry W. Nevins, A. G. Gardiner, and others to show that it was likely to be the old game of grab. This speech, which, as events have proved, was abundantly justified, greatly incensed the Liberals, and after adjournment they gathered in little groups on one side of the chamber, discussing Dixon's “disloyalty” and “treason,” while casting angry glances to where he sat alone at his desk. Two newspaper men, one an editorial writer, the other a reporter, shook hands with him as they passed and dared to congratulate him on his speech. Within a week they were both “fired” from the principal “Liberal” newspaper of Winnipeg.

Very different is the picture today. While many factors peculiar to Manitoba politics have undoubtedly played a part in the recent election, it is none the less true that the result reflects a world-wide process—the death of liberalism as we have known it in modern times. Tragic as it is to see men who in the past have given liberalism genuine and sincere service being absorbed in the ranks of reaction, it is nevertheless a fate which is bound to overtake our old Liberal and Democratic parties. They are war casualties. Long ago the Liberals of Manitoba lost all title to the grand old name of “liberal.” When the ordeal came in 1917 over the question of conscription the Manitoba Liberals, with quite negligible exceptions, proved unequal to it. They deserted their old chief, who, if any man ever represented traditional and historic liberalism—respect for the personality and opinions of others, faith in the judgments of the people and willingness to abide by them, toleration of the views of opponents and a desire to understand them, a profound belief in freedom of religion, of speech and of the press—it was Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Yet he only asked that the people of Canada be given an opportunity at once to say by way of a referendum, as was done twice in Australia, whether they desired conscription. And this was denied him.

But it was not in the conscription election alone that the Manitoba Liberals betrayed liberalism. There developed in Canada as the war months went on much the same system of espionage and summary arrest as has prevailed in this country. Hundreds of innocent persons had their homes invaded, their persons molested, were arrested and flung into jail, usually on paltry and unsubstantial evidence. The weak and defenceless were the object of pitiless attack. And while this orgy of Prussianism was developing, and as it rose to its height, the Manitoba Liberals, again with negligible exceptions, either remained silent or supported the campaign of tyranny. Unfortunately the spectacle is not confined to Manitoba. The same process is recognizable all over the world. We shall have the same phenomenon ourselves in November, for can anything but half a dozen miracles save the Democratic Party from humiliating defeat? What enthusiasm does a “Democratic” Party expect to command and generate which has not considered it a scandal to have A. Mitchell Palmer mentioned day after day as an aspirant for the Presidential nomination in its gift?

Cox—A Provincial for President

By LUDWIG LEWISOHN

IT was in Memorial Hall, the vast auditorium in Columbus. Louise Homer was to give the first concert of the season and Governor Cox was to introduce her. He got up, dark, stodgy, rather hard-voiced, shoved his left foot forward and extended his right arm in the manner of a commencement orator. You didn't have to look at the man twice. He left little room for subtlety or speculation. You saw at once a certain rough earnestness, as much honesty as can be harmonized with political success, and genuine emotional impulses constantly outstripping the mind. His peroration rather missed fire with the audience. But he knew that the papers would carry its message to the great heart of the people next day. "You will hear beautiful singing, because you will hear a voice that has sung lullabies over the cradles of four American children!"

The point about this trivial anecdote is not that Governor Cox was not perfectly sincere, but that he was. Mrs. Homer's exemplary domestic arrangements aroused in him a deep emotional conviction that her art must be admirable. And the children were American children! How could she not be great? Well, Governor Cox has let such homely emotionalism be his guide. Without fundamental convictions or a program for social justice, he is responsible for mothers' pensions in Ohio, for a maximum nine-hour working day for women, and has insisted, quite recently, on a minimum salary of one hundred dollars a month for school-teachers. His relations with the executive of the State University, who was old-fashioned enough to believe intellectual culture the foundation of democracy, have been strained and jangled. But he has a heart for underpaid village school-teachers, over-worked waitresses, and poor old mothers. He does not believe in firing on strikers on sight, or in letting "public opinion" deal with aliens until they have had a chance to learn English and thus to "hold the emotions which stirred the founders of our republic." He is no "ship or shoot" extremist. He has a heart. It is no fault of his if everyone does not know it.

The trouble with this not unkindly, rough and ready type of provincial is that he has passed his life amid certain conventional phrases which have unfailingly aroused in him a definite emotional response. He has never permitted himself to examine the concepts employed in those phrases nor to imagine that his loose and yet canny emotionalism needed either tightening or testing. He wants the League of Nations. It appeals to him. It sounds "folksy" on a grand scale. Of course, it must not interfere with the Constitution. He feels that the League will reduce armaments, which is amusing in view of the present facts, and also that it will help the world to get to work. He has always been a hard worker; he believes in hard work. The disease and despair and lack of incentive in Europe—none of these things reach his mind. Work! Good old American hustling! It gives him his emotional "kick." It confirms him in the soundness of the world.

Then there is the League—the "vital issue" distinguishing the two parties. Here are Mr. Cox's views: "If this question passes to the next Administration, there should be no fetish developed over past differences. Yet at the same time there must be no surrender of vital principle." Such verbiage

is empty but also dangerous. If a great Power wants something we shall make no fetish over past differences; if it is an oppressed minority we shall make no "surrender of vital principle." In either case Mr. Cox's heart would have its accustomed glow. Who opposes the League? You can see him thrusting out his left foot and waving his right arm. "Certain groups who have been deceived and to whom appeal has been made on racial pleas." But is not the hearing of racial pleas one of the great aims of the League? Or are the people of Shantung or South Tyrol deceived as to their racial identity? Then what does Governor Cox mean in concrete terms? Alas, this type of provincial never means anything concrete in matters that transcend his province. He will have his glow whatever meaning the great gamesters of power and finance attribute to his words. Who else opposes the League? "Interests who see in it an absolute bar to German absolutism. The election in Switzerland shows that opposition to the League in that country, in the main, was in the German cantons." So we have the Swiss, the oldest and most hardheaded republicans in the world, turned into henchmen of the Hohenzollerns, because they have a closer and more realistic view of Europe than the Governor of Ohio. His easy emotional responses are not theirs. They must be rascals. Therefore they must be defenders of an alien absolutism. They are Germans to boot—Germans from whom no good can possibly come. The case is clear. Mr. Cox is indignant. Mr. Cox is extremely indignant.

The curious yet characteristic paradox is that so soon as Governor Cox gets down to what, in Central Ohio, they call "brass tacks," he suddenly stops being emotional and talking in the void. He wants good rural schools because they make "farmlands appreciate in value"; he wants the excess profits tax abolished for the idyllic reason that it is "not needed now"; he wants the Federal inheritance tax transferred to the States. He talks very concretely on the questions that affect bread and butter—the bread and butter of himself and his class. Let him leave that and he becomes once more and immediately the man of feeling and of swelling phrases. Yes, there are industrial disputes. Far be it from him to deny it. Let the President appoint a commission to examine these disputes. Let the findings of this commission be made known in each instance. "Upon this evidence public opinion will be formed. It can be depended upon to be fair; it will always be dominant." Whose public opinion? How shall it be tested and how applied? Who will abide by its decisions? Such questions, one may be sure, have never presented themselves to the mind of Governor Cox. He says "public opinion" and feels noble and righteous; he says "home and mother" and feels nobler and more righteous. He almost sheds a manly tear. He says: "Government must be something to inspire reverence—not fear," and he feels very noble indeed. Why should he examine things disinterestedly or test the rectitude of his mental operations or fear the complexity of great affairs or force his imagination to envisage the realities of other men in other lands? Is he not honest? Has he not a heart? Is he not sure that his provincial catch-words can cure the ills of the world? All he needs is a chance to be President.

Another Convention—The Democratic

By ROBERT HALE

REPUBLICANS, when taunted with the charge that Harding was nominated in a hotel room in Chicago at two o'clock in the morning, may reply with some pertinence that Cox was selected just before dinner in a suite at French Lick. Nor is there much ground for Democratic jubilation in the testimony of freedom afforded by the long deadlock. Both conventions were of a pattern. Neither was bossed in the literal sense of the word, but both were manipulated. The children of darkness exercised their traditional privilege of being wiser than the children of light. To be sure the shades were not always quite so definite. There were hours and days when it was very difficult to tell just what issue was dividing the delegates. The man who seemed closest to the spirit of the convention was John W. Davis. His nominator declared that he would administer affairs "with fidelity to every interest and every group." And one of his seconders added "His legal training makes him see two sides of every question almost instantly."

The Democrats assembled in convention seldom had any difficulty in seeing both sides of any question which came before them. The only difficulty lay in reaching a decision. Seemingly they had been unable to outgrow the habits of neutrality first urged by Woodrow Wilson himself. Thus when Bryan presented a plank pledging the party to the strict enforcement of the Volstead act, the convention swept it aside with a rousing vote. But soon after when Bourke Cockran suggested that the convention record itself as favoring legislation which would permit the sale, for home consumption, of cider, light wines, and beer, the convention voted "no" almost as vigorously as before. The convention feared to be dry and it didn't dare be wet. It remained in a condition midway between the two. Likewise, although there was much bold talk about ratification of the treaty without nullifying resolutions the plank as sawed was broad enough for Woodrow Wilson and James Reed.

It seems probable that the President gave few orders and yet he did not keep his hands off the convention. He could not have done so even if that had been his desire. There was no possibility of divorcing Democracy and Wilsonism on the eve of a national election. The party was compelled to build a platform on the record of what had been done in seven years and somehow or other Wilson's name kept creeping into the record. Not all the delegates were delighted by this fact, but even the bitterest foe of the administration realized that the party could not go on record without saving the face of its leader. This much the convention did for Wilson and no more. To borrow a figure from H. L. Mencken, Wilson asked for bread and they gave him three cheers.

The League was by no means the big issue of the San Francisco convention. It was large enough to send James Reed sprawling, but by that time honor was satisfied and other rebels against the administration's treaty policy had no difficulty in hurdling the question and remaining regular. As Homer Cummings explained in a talk to the newspaper men, it wasn't so much what James Reed had done as the way he did it. The one question which split the convention wide open was liquor. Democratic newspapers are now pro-

testing violently that the liquor question is not an issue in this campaign. They ask voters to keep their eyes on the League alone. But as a matter of fact in all the intimate conferences between group and group, prohibition was the leading topic. Many delegates were perfectly willing to trade, and accept a one hundred per cent League of Nations in return for 2.75 beer. Little of this talk occurred on the floor. Indeed it was felt that Bryan was guilty of bad trade, and accept a one hundred per cent League of Nations admitted that he introduced his resolution only in retaliation. He gave a clew to the manner in which the Democratic wets hope to achieve their ends. In his speech for cider, light wines, and beer he devoted practically all his attention to an appeal to the South. He praised the South for "the solution of the Negro problem" and said that nothing like it had ever been seen in the history of the world. He suggested that there were other amendments, also, which might best be left to the interpretation of the States. The Democratic wets did not care to risk a frontal attack upon the dries. They favored a more subtle process. Infiltration the Germans called it. Accordingly there was scant support for Edwards an announced wet. Instead the Murphy-Nugent-Brennan-Taggart combination decided upon Cox and stuck to him in spite of his declaration shortly before the convention that he was not a wet. After all they had heard Mr. McAdoo say that he was not a candidate. Mr. Murphy and Mr. Taggart are realists. It made little difference to them what Cox chose to call himself.

Cox did not have nearly enough votes at the beginning to win the election, but his support was exceedingly staunch. Taggart's late move to McAdoo was no more than a gesture. It was intended to show all the doubtful delegates that the Cox forces were strong enough to stick even in the face of desertion. The most discouraging thing which can happen to a candidate is to gain new votes and then lose them, and soon Taggart's Indiana delegation was back with Cox. Palmer held the balance of power. It is possible that he might have effected the nomination of McAdoo if he had made a move at the right time. There was, however, no very cordial feeling between the Palmer and McAdoo forces. More than that, the attorney general had a good many anti-prohibition delegates in his machine and as soon as they were free they rushed to Cox and not to McAdoo. Just why Palmer weakened when he did is not clear. Perhaps the office of attorney general is not one to develop stamina. Mr. Palmer has been so accustomed to waving a finger and having a deportation or a raid occur on the instant that he was somewhat out of his element when he entered a contest in which he met people strong enough to fight back, in which he gave orders of which nothing came. In pursuing so long a policy of repression he had allowed his powers of persuasion to atrophy and not all his orators, press agents, shouters, and mixed quartettes were enough to convert the necessary delegates. No one had so elaborate a publicity organization in San Francisco as Mitchell Palmer. The city was filled with huge posters which pictured him holding a large and legal book in his left hand and shaking a threatening finger of his right. "Mitchell Palmer—The Fighting

Quaker—laying down the law,” read the inscription, but one correspondent soon changed it to the “Quaking Fighter” and another suggested that Mr. Palmer withdrew from the contest for the nomination because the *redwoods* made him nervous.

Mr. Palmer was nominated by J. H. Bigelow in a speech in which he was first likened to Vulcan unterrified by “the onslaught of the serried ranks of reds.” This particular incident in mythology has escaped us. Later coming to history he was called “a new Navarre,” but no mention at all was made as to whether his white plume was a feather. At any rate the speaker told the convention: “His lance is that of law; his shield is that of Justice; and democracy again triumphs, led and inspired by Pennsylvania’s noblest product, whom I now name for the presidency of the United States—A. Mitchell Palmer.”

Most of the oratory was of the same school. Little which we heard in speech or demonstration was simple or sincere. Perhaps an exception should be made in the case of Al Smith, presented to the convention on a platform which comprised “After the Ball Was Over,” “Sweet Rosie O’Grady,” and “The Sidewalks of New York.” There was one other outburst of enthusiasm not open to suspicion. In nominating Carter Glass, Flood said “Carter Glass was born in Lynchburg, Virginia,” and a stout Negro woman in the balcony got up and cheered for two minutes.

In the Driftway

THERE is still Romance in the world. To the Drifter Romance has always meant lost causes and forlorn hopes, desperately guarded to the end by knightly adventurers,—crusaders, cavaliers, Southern gentlemen. But their songs and their stories are no more stirring than the morning papers these days. Therein the Drifter has read of a great adventure and, as he wandered down the prosaic stone and steel canyon of lower Broadway, the wind from off the sea seemed to echo the message, to shout to him of Romance half the world away, to uplift him and to fill him with longing to go out and die—“For a not unworthy cause, far from a bed of sickness, under a sunset sky, the point of a sword in my heart, and the point of a jest on my lips.” Just here the Drifter had to come back—albeit, regretfully—to the twentieth century, and admit that it was far more probable that a machine gun bullet or a typhus germ than a rapier would be the death of him. But in his exalted mood death in any form was welcome in the interest of a gallant cause.

* * * * *

WHAT stirred the Drifter to this line of thought was the latest appeal from Poland for American aid. The commander of the Kosciuszko Squadron, fighting with the Polish army against the Bolsheviks, has cabled to this country:

We need twelve enthusiastic pilots, good flyers, gentlemen essential; must pay expenses to Poland; accept Polish pay, 2,000 marks. Scout pilots preferable. Could offer only a lieutenant’s rank. Could American Flying Club help?

Gentlemen essential. The issue seems clear. Here we have class-consciousness! The Drifter had always thought it to be some horrid thing fastened upon us by the wicked Socialists. Poland shows us our error. There, it would seem, black is black, and white, white—or more properly,

red is red, and white, white. On the one hand is the ragged red army of proletarians who presume to think that they can dictate the destiny of Russia. On the other is a little company of chivalrous volunteers, United States birdgentlemen, American “eagles” fighting under the white eagles for their dream of a Polish Empire. They call it a republic—the Drifter smiles indulgently. In the land of Romance one overlooks these little slips of the tongue.

* * * * *

GENTLEMEN essential. It raises a serious question. Will the authorities demand the name of the Drifter’s maternal great-great-grandmother which he has inadvertently forgotten? Will they want to know his clubs? Will they look him up in the Social Register? Or will they ask him to dinner to judge his table manners and breeding? One of the Drifter’s ancestors lies buried in St. Paul’s churchyard on Broadway—but then he was only a simple tradesman, “Smith to the Royal Artillery,” as his tombstone says. Will such lowly origin be held against him? Otherwise the Drifter feels qualified. He is a scout pilot. To be sure, he is poor, but 2,000 marks will probably exclude loot and therefore suffice. He is proud, but not too proud to sink to the grade of lieutenant. The Drifter feels he ought to qualify. Romance is calling, and adventure. But can he get away with that “gentlemen” stuff?

* * * * *

THE Drifter hears with puzzled ears the Dean of Westminster’s appeal across the Atlantic for funds to keep the Abbey going. Must the city of Thomas Carlyle’s adoption call thus upon the country of Thomas Carlyle’s contempt for aid in the worship of British heroes? And if so, what citizens of these States are addressed? Palpably not the Senatorial worthies who doze in the windowless Washington ark and mumble against the economic deluge; the Dean is too well read to dream that they would enter a League of Anglo-Saxon Legendarians without suitable reservations guaranteeing for all time suitable homage to suitably statured American lawyers and brigadiers. Palpably, also, not the newer critics of art and literature who aim these days to be as free as Emerson of an Old World past. The Dean must know that those young men are much too busy for a game of pussy-in-the-poets’-corner now; unless, indeed, the poets too were allowed to play, and Whitman might dodge into Longfellow’s niche. One set of cis-oceanic beings remains, and the Drifter wonders if it is not in their direction that Westminster looks. The dollared, collared tourists—what of them? Theirs is the ready money; why should theirs not be the willing hand? The last two words give the Drifter pause. The tourist hand has been willing since anyone can remember; but it has been willing to take, every American must admit, rather than willing to give. The mind that moves that hand, proverbially willing to pay large sums for nothing, does not donate large sums for something. The Dean should devise some nothings and put high prices on them. There are tons of stone, for instance, that he could dispense with for esthetic as well as pecuniary profit. The monuments to Chatham and Wolfe and Buckingham and Gladstone could be quarried for thousands of scrolled, superfluous chips which, suitably inscribed, might bring in thousands of sterling pounds. Then, while at home the vulgar pointed with pride to mantels embellished by sprigs of granite laurel or tips of marble cloud, the Abbey would be a hall where travelers poor, but possessed of taste, could linger longer.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Eighteenth Amendment

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The second paragraph of your issue of June 19 does not accurately present the result of the decision of the Supreme Court. That decision is not concerned with the will of majorities. What it determines is that the Eighteenth Amendment is constitutional, that is to say, that its passage was in accordance with Article V of the Constitution. Article V has certainly been complied with, so the decision could not be otherwise. Whether the Court would reverse its decision on a showing that the technical compliance with Article V was procured by corrupt means is another matter, as undoubtedly the meaning of Article V is that the legislatures referred to should have been elected to do what they did. This point has not yet been submitted. It may be, some day.

To suggest that the Eighteenth Amendment represents the will of the majority of the people of this country, or even the will of the majority of the select body of voters, is absurd. Therefore, on your own showing, "it will be the moral duty of the majority to show that the accomplishment of their will is the beginning of wisdom"; in other words, get this Eighteenth Amendment set aside.

Consider any or all of the following points:

1. Under Article V a vote in Arizona is worth nearly 100 votes in New York.

2. The legislatures that ratified the Eighteenth Amendment did not represent their constituents on this point, *e. g.*, California's mandate was strongly against ratification. Its legislature forswore itself.

3. No one to whom I have suggested the point questions that the funds of the Anti-Saloon League were largely provided by the Baptist Church, through John D. Rockefeller's support. That these funds were lavishly expended in intimidating or bribing sufficient of the wavering legislators of different States to secure the required majority.

4. That such voters as thought about the matter were under the impression that the Anti-Saloon League was what its name implied, an association adverse to the saloon. There probably is a majority to be found agreeing with that view; but that is a totally different question from prohibition. The American saloon was a unique institution, an abomination unknown to Europe. The wine-shop or public house of Europe is on a different basis altogether.

5. The Anti-Saloon League would not dare to face a referendum, except in the hope of a new lease of agitation for its army of paid agitators, who are in fear of unemployment.

Berkeley, California, June 30

LINCOLN WELLS

The Car Shortage

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In view of the car shortage and the possible breakdown of the transportation facilities of the country, it seems to me worth while to furnish you with some figures on the present situation. I have been told during the time the roads were under Government operation that not to exceed 100,000 new cars were put in operation by the Government during the twenty-six months of control; also that the normal purchases by the railroads under private ownership exceeded 100,000 cars per annum. I think you will find some of these figures in the monthly bulletin of the Railroad Executives Association.

A very startling statement was made to me—that one of the great railroad presidents had estimated that the car requirements of all the railroad systems, to be brought up to the required standard of efficiency, would amount to approximately

700,000 cars. I rather doubt this statement and hope to have more definite information in the near future.

It is my opinion that it is important for the public to be fully advised of the situation and to be led to adopt a more liberal line of thought with regard to dealing with the railroad situation. The old policy and thought in the mind of the public, of imposing every possible penalty and restriction on the railroads must be modified, or we will have a national disaster. I quite agree that the flagrant abuses of public interest and public rights by the railroad financiers in years past required and justified drastic treatment, but the country has gone so far in this direction that the present damage and danger confronting us far over-balance the damages that have been suffered in the past. In other words, the greatest and best interests of the public today are involved in maintaining the railroads at required efficiency rather than "visiting the sins of the fathers unto the children of the third and fourth generation."

New York, June 15

S. P. WESTON

A Potent Power for Propaganda

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is evident that many Republicans are very confident of success in the approaching election. It is equally obvious that this confidence rests upon something more substantial than a comparison of nominees or platforms. After reading "An Open Letter to Young Voters," which recently appeared in *The National Republican* with Mr. Will H. Hays's picture at the top, and his signed name at the bottom, the whole matter is plain. In a national spell-binding contest, what chance is left to mere Democrats when the National Republican Chairman is capable of such astounding flights of alliterative fancy as appear in the article referred to?

Concerning his own party, he says with becoming modesty: "I became convinced that the Republican Party has been the most potent power of practical progression ever devised by man; that it has formulated the statutes, written the great laws, advanced the theories, and carried out the great principles that have made this country 'the mystery of the ages, the mightiest miracle of time.'"

To his youthful readers he makes this sage comment, "Every right-minded young person will try to be one in the total of the world's activities, to be one in the quotient of being, and to be as near the left side of the number as possible."

When he reaches the subject of the war, his eloquence bursts all bonds: "In a national crisis, as if by magic, the blood in the veins of young Americans transforms boys into bayonets, playfellows into patriots, dapper dandies into destroying dreadnaughts, and dancing bumpkins into Damascus blades—all soldiers whom the world may well fear. And we thank the God of our Fathers that this is so."

What mere Democrat, I ask, would dare to enter the lists against such a champion? Can one wonder that the Republicans are confident!

Cleveland, Ohio, June 10

M. C. HARRISON

Contributors to This Issue

LEWIS S. GANNETT is one of the associate editors of *The Nation*.

ROBERT HALE is the pseudonym of a New York newspaper-man whose range includes books, baseball, politics, and the drama.

BENJAMIN GINZBURG is an American journalist, a member of the staff of the Paris edition of the *Chicago Tribune*, who has recently returned from Poland.

A. VERNON THOMAS is assistant editor of the *Nautical Gazette* and a close student of Canadian affairs.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN is a member of the staff of *The Nation*.

Cocoons

By KARLE WILSON BAKER

I

Scorn is a scourge:
I need the scourge for myself.
Love is a key:
Except it open the one low door,
I must stay in my cell with my scourge.

II

I have fought for my triumph
Bitterly and long,
And I would have fought to the death
For my soul's sake and yours.

But now that it is won—
See, here is my sword:
Take it away—I do not like to look at it.

Let us play you are the conqueror.

III

Out into a green backyard came a woman in a blue apron
Carrying yellow meal in a bright tin pail.
The chickens came running;
And those little hungry sparrows that are my thoughts,
All day teasing and quarreling,
Settled down on the grass among the plump flock,
Greedy and pleased.

IV

I never knew a farmer who scolded the bluebirds
For thinking the fence-posts were made for them:
And I guess God will not be offended
If my heart builds its nest in His fence-posts.

Books

What Every Newspaperman Knows

The Brass Check. A Study of American Journalism. By Upton Sinclair. Published by the Author (Pasadena, California).

THIS is a most important book which every reader will want to pass on to his neighbor. A fascinating and thorough treatise upon the American press, based on a variety of personal experiences and on contacts, direct and indirect, with newspapers, newspaper stories, and newspaper men, it is an exposé and an indictment. It marshals fact after fact and arrays incident after incident, waving aside hearsay and rumor. Respecting no locality, it covers metropolitan and country newspapers from coast to coast, pays its respects to magazines, and delves into the workings of news associations. It is a complete, masterful study, and the presentation of its facts is wholly convincing. The book might well be entitled "What Every Newspaperman Knows." For a newspaperman cannot read the book without being reminded in every chapter of identical or similar personal experiences.

With Mr. Sinclair's conclusions, drawn from his facts, it is not necessary to agree. Mr. Sinclair is a Socialist. He sees everything through the spectacles of class-consciousness. He interprets all evil in the light of the class struggle. He makes little or no allowance for human frailties—for selfishness, for timidity, for ignorance, for partisanship, for lack of public spirit, for downright dishonesty—as individual manifestations. Also,

at times he is humorless, and he has been persistently naive. He never learned from his encounters with Hearst "sob-sisters" and Sunday feature writers. He continued to trust them; and that is one reason why his book is so complete. Mr. Sinclair was a glutton for punishment. He refused to take the count, and invariably came back for more. Indeed, his book projects him as a sort of "white hope" of journalism; and in his final chapter he offers himself as such. It is undeniable that he has issued to the entire press of America a very definite challenge. Can the press afford to ignore it?

Many of the newspapers which Mr. Sinclair scarifies will undoubtedly ignore it. A newspaper's management changes often; its turn-over of personnel is greater than that in any other intellectual occupation. Present managements will find difficulty in remembering what was done ten or five years ago, in remembering who ordered this story killed and that one toned down. When they do, there can be explanations, plausible explanations, logical explanations, specious explanations. In most cases, at least a certificate of reasonable doubt will be given. Many papers are entitled to such a certificate. Others, including Socialist papers, which Mr. Sinclair would give a clean bill, are not entitled to it, especially on subjects which touch the prejudices or convictions of their managements. But there is one challenge in Mr. Sinclair's book that cannot decently be ignored, glossed over, or obscured. Mr. Sinclair's case against the Associated Press appears very grave. The Associated Press is a highly standardized institution. Mr. Melville E. Stone managed it twenty-five years ago, and still manages it. Mr. Frederick Roy Martin has been assistant manager for over a decade, including the entire period discussed by Mr. Sinclair. At the annual conference held in New York last April, Mr. Frank B. Noyes, the president, spoke harshly of Associated Press critics, saying: "We are accustomed through long experience to the railings against our service of the uninformed, the notoriety seeker, and the common or garden liar who charges bias or suppression in the report of the Associated Press. Every newspaper man, every informed person, knows how preposterously untrue these charges are—whoever may make them." To whichever category Mr. Noyes would consign Mr. Sinclair, no one who reads this work will believe any longer that the Associated Press can afford thus lightly to dismiss the serious charges brought against it. It is the public duty of the Associated Press to answer Mr. Sinclair point by point.

In the interests of accuracy Mr. Sinclair should, in later editions of his book, modify his one obvious mis-statement—that in every newspaper office there is a definite proviso against uncomplimentary news about certain people. Some newspapers may maintain black and white lists such as he encountered, but the majority do not. To be sure, some of that majority have an understanding about "sacred cows" and "goats" which readily percolates through the shop; but here again one has to deal with the individual bias, a human denominator common to any economic system—capitalist, socialist, or millennial.

That all is not well with the American press, that in many respects it is less and less fulfilling its alleged function of serving the whole public, is obvious. Yet the outlook is by no means so dark as Mr. Sinclair would have it. The newspapers are still the victims somewhat of war-born propaganda. It is questionable whether American journalism of the last five years can fairly be judged without full recognition of war's juggernauting and sterilizing effects. Mr. Frank Cobb, editor of the *New York World*, has forcibly called attention to those effects; and the efforts of papers like the *World*, the *New York Globe*, and *Springfield Republican* to reach the rock-bottom of fact are evident. War journalism, to Mr. Sinclair the crowning infamy, while in some respects a discreditable chapter in the history of American newspaperdom, was no better and no worse than the public temper which it reflected. There was hysteria in the press, but there was mad hysteria in the community. To say that the press should have been better than its community, that

it should have proved a beacon in the storm and a leader in the wilderness, is to set an ideal for which all good citizens must hope—but it disregards actual conditions. People, perhaps, get the kind of newspapers they deserve. The increasing and almost universally automatic distrust of newspapers has become a commonplace which those who head the profession will soon be forced to face. Competition in truth will force it, if nothing else. Mr. Sinclair is quite right in his emphasis upon the fact that the greatest success will lie eventually with the paper which prints the most news and prints it the most impartially. Achieving such a position will be journalism's next phase. To be sure, mechanical conditions just now tend to retard such a development. The staggering costs of conducting newspapers make for their control by great financial interests with special purposes to serve. On the other hand, an awakened public conscience and an increasingly widespread acquaintance with social and economic fundamentals will encourage an evolution in the press world analogous to that which is altering the structure of human society. But before we can expect much progress in this direction, endowment on a large scale must be forthcoming to make possible a transfer of the ultimate control of the press to its editors—men of conscience and students of public affairs.

ERNEST H. GRUENING.

National Guilds and the State

National Guilds and the State. By S. G. Hobson. The Macmillan Company.

THE attractiveness of the National Guildsmen's proposals, particularly to those who had not formerly embraced "Scientific Socialism," may be laid to a general change of attitude toward social maladjustments. The older type of mind thought more in static terms; it was chiefly concerned about abstractions like justice; it investigated wrongs and devised means of righting them. The newer attitude is rather that of the engineer than that of the lawyer. Its first question is "What is the objective?" and its second is "How can the objective best be attained?" It is concerned with principles, but only because it must calculate strains and stresses, and must arrange a balanced interplay of functions. In human society, justice can have meaning only as it is related to the general objective. With a machinery of institutions functioning so well as to attain that objective, the justice sought would automatically follow.

In this sense the guildsmen, though they accept the economic analysis of Marx, have begun to build in a spirit more truly scientific. Their insistence upon the creative value of the producer, if his full energies can be released, has found quick response in the researches of the industrial engineer. Their distrust of state control of industry, if exercised through bureaucratic management, coincides with the criticism of state Socialism always offered by the practical organizer of production. Their hope of a glorified trade union, developed into a self-governing guild, has led them into the heart of immediately pressing trade-union problems, and has furnished a vital connection between Socialism and the powerful labor movement. On every side their theory is linked with the currents of operative social forces, and by means of it Socialism comes out of the books and off the debating platforms into the plexus of life and growth. Even the theory of the state as expounded by Mr. G. D. H. Cole finds its strongest justification in the abandonment of legalistic concepts for the method of testing social institutions by their function. What, exactly, is the state for? What does it do? How, then, should it be limited by other forms of functional organization in the community? This inquiry leads inevitably to a destruction of the conception of the state as an abstract entity with complete sovereignty.

Since this is the prime virtue of the guild theory, the guildsmen will do well to adopt more completely the scientific method, and to be wary of the unsupported speculation in which they

are too ready to indulge. The outlines of their proposals have been well drawn; it remains to fill them in or to change them through experiment and observation. Mr. Hobson in the first chapter of this book, for instance, is guilty of substituting dialectic for honest examination. A critic objects that the guilds are likely to develop corporate exclusiveness, and to use their power as producers to the detriment of the consumer. He also fears that the control of production by the workmen will lead to stagnation in processes and to inefficiency in management. By a flourish of phrases Mr. Hobson answers that once the wage system is abolished profiteering will be impossible, and that there are very few consumers who are not also producers. "To pose them as two different economic interests is to assume the perpetuation of the commercial spirit in an organization deliberately designed to kill it." This, and more of the same character, lacks the spirit of realistic inquiry. The questions are searching ones, and the task of the guildsman is not to answer them as a propagandist, but to ask how far and in what ways they are justified, and then to devise the means of preventing the evils suggested. Not all Mr. Hobson's protestation could prevent an ill-advised railway guild, for example, from securing a larger share of goods for the enjoyment of its members than a guild of teachers or some less immediately necessary group of producers could secure.

Mr. Hobson's difference with Mr. Cole over the state, his exaltation of it as a "spiritual entity" rather than as the agent of the consumer, also drives far afield from economic realism. Whatever duties we may give the state—whether distribution, education, foreign affairs, or encouragement of the fine arts—it is folly to assume that the conduct of these functions will not be influenced by dominant economic powers, under either a capitalist or a guild form of organization. Here again a love for the phrase betrays the author. "Spiritual" and "entity" are fine words, but they do not mean anything apart from the idea of function which is the very soul of guild theory.

Mr. Hobson's chapters on the workshop and the influence of the war on labor are, on the other hand, excellent examples of the fruitfulness of guild theories when they are applied to situations and supported by observation. Few better analyses of the shop-steward movement and the tendencies of the unions have been written. They are full of rich thinking and are highly suggestive. Let us hope that criticism from scientific collectivists like Mr. and Mrs. Webb will before long bring forth similar studies in answer to the major objections urged against the guild proposals.

GEORGE SOULE

The Turks in Europe

The Turks in Europe. By W. E. D. Allen. Charles Scribner's Sons.

THE Turk has no capacity to rule over alien races. Neither among Christians nor Muslims has the Turk done other than destroy wherever he has conquered. Never has he shown himself able to develop in peace what he has won by war." This was the Allied answer to plaintive Turkish representations at Paris in June, 1919. And after reading Mr. Allen's brief history of Turkish rule in Europe one cannot but newly admit the force of the indictment.

Mr. Allen's opening observation that "for over five hundred years an army of occupation has held South Eastern Europe" is supported by his tale of Turkish dominion, a blend of cruelty and deceit. It is a commonplace to say that to this occupation is attributable the backwardness of the Balkan tribes alike in trade, industry, and the ordinary amenities of civilization; but it is not thoroughly enough realized in dealing with the shortcomings of the Balkan countries that only fifty years ago the Turkish garrisons were still in Belgrade and Sofia, and that even today the faithful are called to prayer morning and even-

ing from the minarets of Bosnian Sarajevo. Despite this handicap, it is hard to agree with the author's rather superficial statement that "today the Serbs, the Bulgars, the Greeks, and the Albanians are without a national culture, without political institutions, without coherent traditions, without a history"—even when "today" means the period preceding the Great War. It is precisely because of their national culture and traditions that these populations retained a national consciousness throughout the long Turkish night; it is the story of their restless sleep and gradual awakening, with the resultant disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, which forms Mr. Allen's background.

It is from the first two chapters, describing the rise of the Empire under the Ten Great Sultans and the beginning of its ebb after the Treaty of Karlovicz in 1698, that the layman will probably draw the best information. It is remarkable that in the fifteenth century the Turkish armies actually overran Friuli, reached the Piave, and even invaded Apulia and captured Otranto. Under Suleiman the Magnificent, friend of Francis I of France, corsair admirals carried their raids not only along the coasts of Italy and Spain but even to Ireland and the northern ports. All this, of course, is well known to the student and the historian (for whom the present volume can have but slight value), but to the ordinary reader it is both important and surprising. Much is rightly made of the extraordinarily efficient military organization which alone kept the Sultan master of his great alien domain for many centuries, and of the disintegrating effects of the fatal "bakshish" system which was to spell its doom. An occasional reference to the powerful intrigues which took place within the harems, setting up and knocking down the greatest officials, spurs our imagination to wish for a more intimate knowledge of the fascinating and ruthless Sultanas who at one time practically ruled the Empire.

After he reaches the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainadji, in 1774, the ordinary reader finds himself on more familiar ground. But Mr. Allen does not treat these later events of Turkish history along familiar lines. He maintains an impartial attitude toward the conflicting claims of Serb, Bulgar, Rumanian, and "Macedonian," sometimes by the expedient of touching their thorny issues lightly. German designs in the Near East are fully described, but anyone interested in the Balkans will feel that too little stress has been laid on the long chain of Austro-Magyar intrigue. None of the Great Powers could for long keep fingers out of the Balkan pie. Napoleon, Stradford de Redcliffe, General Ignatiev, Counts Andrassy and Aerenthal—they are but a few of the more important intriguers who have furthered the real or imaginary interests of their respective countries by keeping the Turk in Europe. Great things were looked for from the Porte in 1908 at the time of the Young Turk uprising; but the reforms turned out to be merely new devices for furthering the policy of Ottomanization, "réformes à la Turque" as Arsene Perlant called them, and the road was cleared for Germany's representatives, Von Biberstein and Von der Goltz Pasha, to bring complete ruin to the Empire whose sinister ruler, Abdul Hamid, had so enthusiastically hailed the Kaiser as the foremost Western friend of the Muslim world.

Mr. Allen leaves us at the outbreak of the Great War, since which time Lord Bryce has not ceased to warn us that "Turkish rule in any form under any pretext must absolutely vanish from the lands it has ruined." It might have vanished from Europe after the Balkan Wars in 1912 had it not been for disagreements between the Balkan States and for rivalries among the Powers. The same rivalries now operate to keep the Sultan in Constantinople. But a sovereign whose authority is so impaired that he cannot prevent massacres by his own generals of his own subjects in Armenia will not long remain in power on the Golden Horn, whatever the Supreme Council may decree. In a few years Russia will resume her place as a powerful factor in Near Eastern affairs, and then the lid which hopeful Allied diplomats have clamped down over the Black Sea cauldron will again be blown into space.

HELEN BYRNE ARMSTRONG

Creation and Analysis

The Foolish Lovers. By St. John G. Ervine. The Macmillan Company.

An Imperfect Mother. By J. D. Beresford. The Macmillan Company.

AS a novelist the author of "Jane Clegg" reveals a somewhat timid and restricted mind. The Protestantism of Ulster underwent a good many transformations before it reached him. But it is very palpably and grimly there. He describes, incidentally, a little group of people who are interested in the relations of men and women and in the development of those relations, and he says about them quite what one would expect in an irate gentleman's letter to a conservative newspaper. He declares that "the English love freedom far more constantly than other people," which is, in a limited sense, profoundly true. But he adds: "Without them freedom would have a very thin time in the world," which is an amusing remark for anyone to make, and not least for an Irishman, even though Belfast be his native city. And finally Mr. Ervine says, in order to point the moral of his story: "It is much better to marry and breed healthy babies than to live in an attic making songs about the stars." Ah, but that depends on the quality of the songs. If it were not for the people in attics attending to the stars, all the babies in the world would grow up to be oafs and clods. It may be said that these details do not matter, that Mr. Ervine comes to us as an artist. But art has substance; it is, indeed, in the last analysis, substance creating its form out of its fundamental nature. You cannot dip out of a well save what is in it. However, it is not uncommon to find artistic intelligences transcending their innate or self-imposed limitations when it comes to the drawing of characters very close and very dear to them. So we find Mr. Ervine a masterly miniaturist of homely Ulster people. The drift and purport of his story, the interpretative report of human life which he gives—these suffer from the timidities of his mind. The people themselves do not. They are beautifully and authentically human. They cling to the memory and warm the heart. First come the members of the older generation. These Mr. Ervine has seen with perfect sympathy, with that best kind of understanding in which love remains but has become detached and objective and untroubled. These are Mrs. McDermott, Sr., for whose sake alone the book is lovable, and her two brothers-in-law. Among the younger people the episodic Maggie Charmichael is the very best. The English girl whom the hero marries is simply not there at all; Lizzie, the Cockney girl, is good, though she is drawn from literature rather than from life. John McDermott himself is not altogether credible. We accept his pride and intelligence and moodiness, his stubbornness and the essential rectitude of his mind. But his exploits, especially his wooing of Eleanor—the central thing in the book—have none of the homely vigor and quiet truth of the Irish scenes and incidents. Here and there Mr. Ervine gives us glimpses of a more searching novel he might write about the people of Ulster. But he deliberately cut himself off from that possibility here by the kindly promises to be harmless which he records in his dedication.

Mr. J. D. Beresford explained, in two recent articles of very high interest, the uses to which the novelist could put the discoveries of the Freudian psychology. The problem is an extraordinarily fascinating one. For whatever criticism may be made in detail, there is no doubt that Freud has discovered a very great truth which, like all great truths, is simple enough: Repressed impulses and impressions passively received do not glide through, but become, for better or worse, permanent elements in the affected soul. So soon as we know this the activities of our memory undergo a change in character. Moments that were before but faintly lit leap dazzlingly out of the dim past and help us to account for all we are and do. Now Mr. Beresford's method is not to attribute to his characters a self-knowledge illu-

minated by psycho-analysis. But he explains the life of Stephen Kirkwood through a "slight departure from the normal" which was due "to a severe nervous shock in his early childhood." So far, so good. But it seems to us that Mr. Beresford has actually made his fable richer than he claims and that the nervous shock in question is not really necessary to account for what follows. The case is common. A woman of some artistic gifts and morbidly keen sensibilities, distinctly over-sexed, has married a grubby little shop-keeping person. The two daughters resemble their father. The boy, the youngest, is fine and sensitive and has from the start, to use Freud's drastic term for a thing commonly of infinite subtlety, the Oedipus complex. But almost at the same moment of his adolescence there flashed into Stephen's soul the first perfectly pure yet indescribably tingling influence from a girl, and his mother elopes with a musician. Hence it is not in the least surprising that Margaret Weatherly's smile, her lingering, her momentary preference for him, sink permanently into his subconsciousness, that there occurs an unconscious substitution of her for his mother, which is admirably brought out by the incident of the mother's shocking laugh and the much later laughter of Margaret that recalls it, and that Stephen is lastingly and perfectly contented when he marries Margaret. And Mr. Beresford is quite right in asserting that the happiness of that marriage is not due either to Margaret's beauty or to any special sympathy or understanding that unites these two. That particular marriage simply meant to Stephen the complete abreaction of all his sex-impulses from childhood on. Hence his content. The story is woven with great delicacy and with unobtrusive skill and is remarkably interesting. Yet it is doubtful whether really great fiction would thrive on so much scientific awareness. In the richest creative efforts these things will be organic and immanent as they are in life. It is better for the critic to discover them than for the author to have put them in.

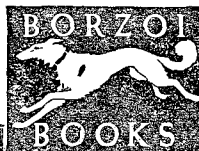
LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Musical Miscellanies

- Musical Memories.* By Camille Saint-Saëns. Translated by Edwin Giles Rich. Small, Maynard and Company.
My Recollections. By Jules Massenet. Translated by R. Villiers Barnett. Small, Maynard and Company.
Memories of a Musical Career. By Clara Kathleen Rogers (Clara Doria). Little, Brown and Company.
John McCormack. His Own Life Story. Transcribed by Pierre V. R. Key. Small, Maynard and Company.
More Chapters of Opera, 1908-1918. By H. E. Krehbiel. Henry Holt and Company.

CAMILLE SAINT-SAËNS is not only one of France's greatest living composers but a musician who can write excellent and witty prose, and an erudite scholar who knows how to impart information without being pedantic. And so, in his "Musical Memories," which cover a period of some four score years, we find him, under the guise of the raconteur, shedding much light on famous people such as Victor Hugo, Pauline Viardot, Rossini, and Meyerbeer, on musical compositions, instruments, and events such as Berlioz's Requiem, the organ, and the Liszt Centenary, and, most important of all, on his own attitude towards modern French music. Not that he has ever shown much sympathy for the younger generation of composers! Only it seems somewhat curious to find one of the founders of the Société Nationale de Musique, which has done so much for French musical art, calling much of this art "anarchy in music." And again, in defending Massenet against the accusation of superficiality and of pandering to the public, he says of the second charge: "Today the revolutionists are the only ones held in esteem by the critics. Well, it may be a fine thing to despise the mob, to struggle against the current, and to compel the mob by force of genius and energy to follow one despite their resist-

ALFRED A. KNOPF



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THE TALLEYRAND MAXIM

By J. S. Fletcher

ance. Yet one may be a great artist without doing that." As for the first charge of superficiality, he replies caustically: "Depth, as we know, is very much the fashion. It is true that Massenet was not profound, but that was of little consequence. Art is vast. The artist has a perfect right to descend to the nethermost depths and to enter into the inner secrets of the soul, but this is not a duty." Thus does M. Saint-Saëns justify his own popularity and success, and thus, too, by his contempt for any "affectation of profoundness," does he link himself, unconsciously, with the spirit of those modern French composers whom he apparently despises.

If men, like nations, are happy when they have no history, then Jules Massenet must have been exceedingly so, judging from his recently published book, "My Recollections." For the volume in question is merely a chatty record of the triumphs, friendships, and musical experiences of a composer who was the idol of the public, whose career from its very beginning was one long series of brilliant successes, and who enjoyed life to the utmost. He tells of his prize-winning days at the Conservatoire, of his student days at Rome, of his collaborators, and of his associations with operatic directors, singers, and music publishers. He speaks with equal appreciation of good dinners and the esteem in which he was held by his colleagues, and he frankly, but modestly, confesses that he never could bear to be present at the first performance of his works, even when their success was assured. His narrative, like his music, reveals facility, grace, and charm, and is alternately gay and sentimental to the point of bathos. One is not very much wiser after reading the book, but one closes it with a certain regret at parting from such amiable company.

The reminiscences of Mrs. Clara Kathleen Rogers, or Clara Doria, as she was known to the operatic and concert stage, form a volume that amply justifies its length by its literary as well as its informative merits. For Mrs. Rogers has pungency of style and a gift for vivid delineation of persons and events. With father and grandfather both prominent among English musicians, and Giacomo Meyerbeer as a cousin, it is not surprising that Clara Doria, or Clara Barnett, as her maiden name really was, should have grown up in a musical atmosphere, or that, when she and her sister and brother displayed a marked musical talent, they should have been given every educational advantage. And so, beginning with her childhood days at Cheltenham, a fashionable cure, where her father had retired for reasons of economy when he was still a young man, she takes us through her whole student and professional career, giving us lively descriptions of study at the Leipzig conservatory under Moscheles and Richter, in Berlin under Von Bülow and Frau Zimmermann, and finally of her operatic experiences in Italy, England, and America, in which last country she settled down in marriage. The book is thickly sprinkled with anecdotes of some of the most famous musical and literary celebrities of the time.

"More Chapters of Operas," by Henry Edward Krehbiel, offers historical and critical observations and records concerning the lyric drama in New York from 1908 to 1918. The learned critic of the *Tribune* has always displayed a ponderous style that reads like an encyclopedia and a mind that runs strongly to statistics and prejudices. His last book has proved no exception. But as he is concerned only with the dates of those operatic premières and deaths that have taken place in New York, his statistics are too local to have much value for the serious student of opera; while his anti-American and anti-Mahler prejudices are too obvious and too well known to do much further damage. Yet apparently he would have us believe that he desires the "nationalization of opera." Just what he means by this is difficult to ascertain; for he tells us, in the early part of his book, that "when German opera supplanted for a space the Italian form at the Metropolitan Opera House . . . I hailed the fact with gladness because I thought and said that it was a step toward the nationalization of opera, a consumma-

tion devoutly to be wished, but impossible of realization so long as the Italian system prevailed." The only explanation of this remark, in view of Mr. Krehbiel's subsequent attitude towards American opera (and American music in general) is that on his progress from Italy to America by way of Germany he still remains confined within the borders of that so recently enemy country. For in a large volume, most of which is devoted to detailed accounts of the operas that have been presented in New York, we find him, in regard to the American works, dismissing Hadley's "Azora" with three lines, De Koven's "Canterbury Pilgrims" with eight, and Cadman's "Shanewis" with nineteen. For giving three pages to Victor Herbert's "Natoma" he apologizes by saying, "I am, perhaps, attaching more importance to the production of 'Natoma' than it deserves; but a discussion of it under the circumstances forms a proper part of a picture of the times." To this picture, apparently, the other three operas, for some inexplicable reason, do not belong. In dividing his space, Mr. Krehbiel also manages to spare four pages of farewell and praise for Alfred Hertz, and two pages of the same for Toscanini; yet of that other genius of the baton, Gustave Mahler, he has nothing to say, about either his talent, his departure, or his death. It is only fair to Mr. Krehbiel to say that much of his book is both true and interesting. One merely regrets that he often tries to illuminate events by his prejudices, and so tends to discredit himself as a historian.

"Those of you," says Pierre V. R. Key, in his book on John McCormack, "who thrill under the spell of the golden tone he spins and confess to an occasional glistening eye from the pathos with which he clothes some phrase, need wonder no longer." Nor do we; for now we know what has become of that true Irish hero who disappeared from our ken after Chauncey Olcott retired from the stage. He has been singing to us for ten years under the name of John McCormack, and we never suspected it till Mr. Key revealed it to us. Of course, like all heroes, McCormack had his vicissitudes in the early years of his career, and it is the story of these, leading up to his final triumphs, that Mr. Key has so obligingly transcribed. Much of the book would doubtless be worth reading had McCormack told it to us in his own words instead of in the pseudo-Irish style of his official biographer; for Mr. Key has written with a tear in one eye and with the other eye fixed upon the public. But just why, after all, we should be treated to the details of a life that has not yet reached its fullest accomplishment is not made very clear. In justice to Mr. McCormack, it should be said that he himself was opposed to the whole project. "I'm too young a man," he is reported to have said, "to be written about. The printing of the life and career of one barely past thirty, whose professional efforts lie within a decade, might impress people as premature."

HENRIETTA STRAUS

Books in Brief

RATHER a nasty bit of satire—wasn't it?—says Mr. Clarence Day, Jr., in his amusing skit, "This Simian World" (Knopf), when Nature told us, as she did about sixty years ago, that we men were descended from the most scatter-brained, inconsequential, inquisitive, ridiculous, lascivious, and unpleasant animals in creation. Suppose, instead of being, as it were, self-made apes, we could have boasted a proud pedigree from lions, what a royal, graceful, terrible, and majestic world we should have created! It is true that we might then have had more dueling and murders, but we should have had less war; and would not the substitution of a few more private crimes, in which we might feel agreeably at home, have been, even from the humanitarian standpoint, an improvement on the wholesale homicide of civilized baboons? Or, suppose that the dominant race had been descended from a long line of ants—not, in this case, maiden aunts—their lives would have been as pure as Ivory Soap and socialized beyond the precepts of the gospel of Marx. But, though we may go to the ant, we do not come

from her; nor are our monkey hearts wrapped in a tiger's hide; therefore, we must take our world as we find it, only pausing to realize once in a while, for the remedy of our souls, what a simian world it is. But for our ape-like hands we should never have made tools, have slung stones, bullets, or mud, or have learned to thumb our noses. All our poetry, philosophy, language, and civilization is founded on the chatter of the Banderlog. Our sexual life, and many of our vices, are direct descendants of that of the apes; only we have made matters worse by trying to impose on ourselves taboos that monkey-nature will not endure. One of Mr. Day's friends experimented with some monkeys, and found that the only way to keep them unbored and interested in life was to change their mates from time to time. How human! Finally, Mr. Day toys with the religious instinct, and shows how simian many of its manifestations are. Centuries ago Xenophanes pointed out to the Greeks that "if horses and oxen had hands to carve and paint, they would represent their gods in bovine or equine shape." Even so, according to Mr. Day, we have made our gods, for the most part, primates, in the zoological as well as in the ecclesiastical sense. But with all the anfractuositities and perversities of the simian mind we have inherited one great trait: curiosity. It is that which has given us inventions and discoveries, as well as scandal and newspapers. Since we can so beautifully do with the intelligence that makes monkeys shine as well as monkey shines, hurrah for our family tree!

GEORGE YOUNG'S *The New Germany* (Harcourt, Brace, and Howe) is the result of studies made in Germany since the armistice. In January, 1919, Mr. Young went to Berlin as correspondent for the *London Daily News*. He "preferred going as a journalist to Berlin rather than going in any other capacity to Paris" because he was convinced that "true peace could only be got by developing the forces of democracy of the defeated peoples centering in Berlin, and not by any bickerings between diplomatic formulae of the victorious Governments collected at Paris." The book is an account of the German Revolution, and concludes with a chapter on the Treaty of Versailles and one on the German Constitution, the text of which is given in the appendix. On the whole, although necessarily impressionistic and journalistic in character, the work is an intelligent account of the political transformations in Germany since the armistice, lively and readable at all times, penetrating and brilliant in places. The substance of what Mr. Young saw in Germany (perhaps, as so often happens, it was what he went prepared to see) was that "in spite of military occupations and religious thanksgivings and bonfires and bonuses all round, we were not winning the war but losing it. . . . We have not yet won the war because we have not as yet supported in Germany the progressive—that is, the revolutionary—elements and suppressed the Prussian—that is, the reactionary—spirit; while we have, of late, been really losing the war by actually assisting German reaction against German revolution. And we are doing this just from the ignorance of our democracy and the insouciance of our diplomacy."

IF the diction of "The Secrets of Animal Life," by J. Arthur Thomson (Holt), had been comparable with the chapter headings it would have been one of the most notable additions to popular science. The author has taken two score technical papers, published in erudite Transactions and Journals, and retold them in popular language. There is no doubt of the success of this very admirable undertaking, for every line is readable. But when the subjects are so tremendously interesting, so stimulating to the imagination, it is a great pity the compilation was not made perfect as well as popular. As it is, Whales, Otters, Wasps, Ants, Penguins, Twins, Instinct, Darwin, Latent Life, Man's Arboreal Apprenticeship, and the Cult of Joy should carry the work through many illustrated and unillustrated editions.

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International Relations Section

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American Rule in Santo Domingo

THE following appeal, signed by Mr. Tulio M. Cestero, former Ambassador of Santo Domingo at Paris, Rome, and Madrid, was addressed to the Congress of the United States.

On November 29, 1916, the Dominican Republic was occupied by the United States Army, and by the authority of the Government at Washington, the constitutional president of the Republic, Dr. Francisco Henriquez y Carvajal, was deposed and the Congress of the nation was suspended.

From that day the military regime has reigned in the Dominican Republic with the censorship and justice administered by officers of the army of occupation as a means of prevention and of punishment. All the functions of the executive and legislative powers are exercised by a rear admiral of the United States whose sole restriction is his own will; and a cabinet of seven officers of the navy and of the marine corps exercises the powers which the Constitution grants to the secretaries of state. Thus without previously consulting the Dominican people and without granting them legitimate representation, existing laws are amended, new laws are promulgated which affect the morale and the traditional culture of the country, and new taxes are created; the public debt has been increased by an emission of 5 per cent gold bonds and the customs dues reduced, both of these being sovereign rights which by Article 3 of the Convention of 1907 between the Dominican Republic and the United States require a prior agreement between the Government of the United States and Dominican Government, now non-existent.

The methods and procedure of the Military Government against which the Dominican people protest in so far as they are permitted to do so by the little liberty which the censorship and the Provost Courts leave them, have been defined in a letter which on December 29, 1919, Monseñor A. A. Nouel, Archbishop of Santo Domingo and Metropolitan of America, wrote to the Honorable W. W. Russell, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States who had asked for "his impressions concerning the general state of the country."

In a judicious spirit the illustrious prelate enumerates the following points: (1) sentences of the Provost Courts in purely civil matters; (2) judgments without appeal decreed by the Claims Commission which regulates the new debt; (3) the patronages of the national budget distributed among numerous foreigners of no greater capability than the Dominicans and in many cases of less ability and of no morality; (4) a property tax law which is so complicated as to be incomprehensible; (5) the public funds administered by an Office of Public Works whose chief is a North American with no technical knowledge, and these funds used for the payment of extravagant salaries; (6) the censorship of the press, humiliating and contemptuous, ridiculous and puerile; (7) acts of injustice like the imprisonment for six months in a filthy dungeon of a Spanish priest of exemplary conduct for having, in a private conversation and long before the United States entered the

war, praised the valor and the organization of the German Army; (8) the water torture; (9) the cremation of women and children, that is to say, women and children burned to death in houses that were set on fire; (10) torture by torsion or the use of tourniquets; (11) men hunted through the country like wild animals; (12) an old man, a septuagenarian, dragged at the tail of a horse in the full light of midday in the public square of the village of Hato Mayor; (13) the National Guard which is the urban and rural police force, the creature of the Military Government, without adequate selection or adequate officers.

The Military Government itself has made the following specific declarations with respect to the system and the officials of the occupation prior to the appointment of the present chief, Rear Admiral Thomas Snowden: "There was a time in which the Military Government repelled violence by violence and there were even secondary authorities who distinguished themselves by their cruelty, surpassing themselves in their measures of prevention and repression." This authentic statement was published in the daily press of the Dominican capital and among others in the *Listin Diario* (issue number 9193 of January 12, 1920), under the heading "Official Section, Military Government." Soon after, however, the following fact was communicated in private letters and was inserted in a newspaper of San Juan de Puerto Rico: the home of the citizen Jose Cepeda, who was suspected of hiding arms, in the district of Banoa, Province of Santiago de los Caballeros, was searched at midnight. Two young ladies, his daughters, were forced to appear nude before the troops and in order to make Cepeda confess, he was tortured and the soles of his feet burned, so that he could no longer walk. Another case is referred to in private letters. Some of the details are here omitted as their nature makes them almost unbelievable. Two countrymen who were witnesses in an extortion suit were testifying before the Court of Appeals of Santiago de los Caballeros. One of them suddenly opened his shirt and showed the judge the burns left by the torture to which he had been subjected by officers of the army of occupation. The President of the Court, Dr. Juan Perez, rose and striking the table so hard that the force caused the figure of the Christ, that presides at all the courts of the country, to fall and break, exclaimed: "This is horrible. It is a farce. I am going. I cannot condemn these poor people while the crimes of these officers remain unpunished."

By Military Order No. 385 (January 15, 1920) the censorship was declared abolished, but by the same order it is forbidden to publish in "magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, periodicals, leaflets, or any other publication articles which are hostile to the Government of the United States, its policy or its officials, or to criticize these in any way that will incite the people to restlessness, disorder, or rebellion;" "articles which by their tone are hostile to or are against the Military Government, its policy, or its civil and military officers or which criticize these in such a manner that they incite the masses to restlessness, disorder, and rebellion;" "articles which defame, dishonor, ridicule, the conduct of the Government of the United States, the Military Government or their officials, in such a way that their publication would provoke disorder or rebellion in the Republic;" and "articles which point out the actual state of affairs in Santo Domingo in a form manifestly unjust and untruthful and which could provoke disorder among the masses." Offenses against this order are called "offenses against the Military Government," wherefore although the order referred to does not determine the jurisdiction, it is understood that the Provost Marshal shall deal with them and apply the penalties. These penalties are not specified which is contrary to the universal law by which every offense should be accompanied by its corresponding preestablished penalty.

The Order defines the coresponsibility of all directors of pub-

lications which insert such articles, of all the owners of places where such speeches are made, and of "all persons who knowingly help or encourage the writing, the pronouncing, or the publication of these."

In December, 1919, the directors of the periodicals *El Progreso* of la Vega, *Ecos del Norte* and *Pro Civilismo* of Puerto Plata, were condemned to three months hard labor or to pay a fine of \$300 respectively, and at the end of January, 1920, the parish priest of Puerto Plata, Dr. Rafael Castellano, Canon of the Cathedral and Ex-Representative in the National Congress, was imprisoned for several hours for some words spoken at a literary meeting.

A work of the writer Federico Garcia Godoy, entitled "El Derrumbe" was confiscated in 1916, and according to a letter of Lieutenant Commander Lake, Secretary of the Military Government, dated January 20, 1920, and published in a newspaper of San Juan de Puerto Rico "it is impossible to return the copies to you as they have been burned," and "in spite of the high literary value of the work" he is permitted "to distribute it neither in nor out of the Republic in the form in which it is written."

On February 23, of this year, Julio Azeno, director of the periodical *Pro Civilismo* of Puerto Plata, for a violation of the Order No. 385 has been condemned to a year in prison or to pay a fine of \$600, according to a notice published in the *Listin Diario* of Santo Domingo City (March 4, No. 9335).

President Henriquez y Carvajal in various memoranda which he presented to the State Department between August and October, 1919, as acts preliminary to a modus operandi for the reestablishment of self-government in the Dominican Republic, suggested the suppression of the censorship and of the provost courts, and a "Consulting Board" appointed by the Military Government in November of last year made a similar recommendation. This committee, of which Archbishop Nouel was a member, resigned in full on January 7 because they inferred from the publication of "Rules and Regulations for the Censorship," of December 22, which is essentially identical with Military Order No. 385 by which the censorship and the provost courts are maintained, "that the Military Government does not believe that the time has come to inaugurate the reforms advised." They had accepted the mission "convinced that only by the immediate execution of this plan of reforms which has for its ultimate end the restoration to the nation of the full but orderly exercise of its sovereignty, can its future welfare be assured." This plan comprises the reform of these laws: electoral; the organic municipal law; the organization and government of the Provinces; conscription law; public finance; and of some articles of the Constitution. This plan coincides substantially with that formulated in the said memoranda of President Henriquez y Carvajal for the gradual and progressive restoration of the Dominican Government, the acknowledgment of which by the State Department has been repeatedly solicited by the undersigned in his character of personal representative of the President deposed by the military occupation. The press of Santo Domingo has published declarations of approval of the protest expressed by the resignation of the Consulting Board, and of adhesion to those who ask the return of its sovereignty to the Dominican nation which suffers an irreparable moral hurt through the imperious and irresponsible governmental regime to which the military occupation subjects it.

The facts herein stated already begin to circulate in the foreign press and their propagation can certainly not be beneficial to the high pan-American interests to whose solidarity the Dominican Republic subscribes. The impartial investigation of the events which have occurred since the troops of the United States landed on the territory of the Dominican Republic will reveal the truth, and the punishment of the guilty would prove that the equitable spirit of the institutions of the United States has not been weakened in the different climes to

which the enterprises of their so often glorious flag have carried them, to cooperate with afflicted peoples, and not to cover miserable criminals with its glorious folds. . . .

TULIO M. CESTERO

Ex-Minister Plenipotentiary of the Dominican Republic
Washington, April 2, 1920

The Consulting Board and the Occupation

THE Consulting Board of four prominent Dominicans appointed on October 28, 1919, by the American Military Governor of Santo Domingo to help him "guide the Dominican people towards their future welfare," submitted to him on November 12 the following memorandum on the general needs of the country.

REAR ADMIRAL THOMAS SNOWDEN, Military Governor.

HONORABLE SIR:

Owing to the fact that the actual condition of the public finances and the practical wisdom demonstrated by the country during the past three years are bringing near the moment in which the Government of the United States will order her armed forces to withdraw from our territory and cause Dominican sovereignty to be restored (since said Government never meant to destroy it, but to enable the country, by helping her back into a condition of internal stability, to comply with the provisions of the Convention of 1908 and with the performance of the duties devolving upon her as a member of the family of nations), the Consulting Board firmly believes that the first and best advice that can be offered you in answer to the request you made, prompted by your desire of promoting the future welfare of this country, is to the effect that you initiate the reform of all those among our political laws which figured as joint causes in the revolutionary disturbances of the past, and consequently are responsible for our economic disorganization. . . .

These laws are, among others, the Electoral Act, the Township Organization Act, the Conscription Act, the Act on the Administration and Organization of the Provinces, the Regulation of Public Finances Act, and some of the provisions of our national Constitution. . . .

The Consulting Board looks to the future of the Dominican people in the full enjoyment of its sovereignty and self-government, and sees the future welfare of that people involved in the reforms now proposed. It is the Consulting Board's conviction that if such laws are promulgated and gradually brought into practice, their educational influence will be immediately felt. If the people are called upon to choose, in order to organize the first of the political institutions of the state, let us say, the municipal officials, then the provincial functionaries, etc., until arriving, by the restoration of the national sovereignty, at the election of the highest authorities in the land, the efficiency of the electoral law will be proved and the political organization of the country will rest on firm foundations. The people, who are already accustomed to the advantages of order, who are becoming convinced of the direct and immediate benefits that the nation derives from the economic orientation being taken by the present government, and who are realizing the benefits ensuing from the regulations on public instruction dictated during the last three years; these people, we say, once given back their sovereignty, will exercise it with a genuine love for peace, and it will be found impossible to lure them, as was done before, into resorting to violence as the best means of solving their political problems.

But to attain such an end and also to enable the Consulting Board to transmit to you, as you have asked it to do, the sentiments and thoughts of the Dominican people, it will be necessary to create a condition in which the people will be able to exercise their rights, especially that of voicing their opinions in an orderly but untrammelled way. The Consulting Board deems

it fitting therefore that you dictate regulations pertaining to:

- (1) The censorship now regulating the press.
- (2) The provostal justice [system of provost courts].

Regarding the censorship now in existence for the press, the Board considers that it should be abolished. In order that abuse of liberty may be prevented and that no attacks may be made on the Military Government, nor incitations to rebellion be published, a regulation might be adopted making responsible for such offenses not only their authors but the editors of the journals and the owners of the printing plants in which the offense has been committed.

As to the provostal justice, the Board believes that it ought to be limited to purely military matters, if not found completely unnecessary, because the courts of the country are functioning in a satisfactory manner; and it is evident that provostal justice is absolutely unnecessary except in cases related to military discipline and the safety of the army of occupation. Besides, it is a source of discontent without rendering any tangible service.

These are in their outline the principal suggestions that the Board deems it its duty to submit. . . .

ADOLFO, Archbishop of Santo Domingo,
JACINTO R. DE CASTRO,
FRANCISCO J. PEYNADO,
FEDERICO VELAZQUEZ Y HERNANDEZ,

Dominican Finances

IN a memorandum addressed to the American Military Governor of Santo Domingo the Consulting Board made the following suggestions regarding the question of floating a loan.

SANTO DOMINGO, December 3, 1919.

REAR ADMIRAL THOMAS SNOWDEN, Military Governor.

HONORABLE SIR:

The Consulting Board has had under consideration the plan you deemed proper to submit in re the floating of a loan of from \$5,000,000 to \$7,000,000 to be applied to the completion of certain public works now under way and the construction of new ones.

The matter is no doubt of momentous importance for the future welfare of the Dominican people; and the Board considers said works to be a necessary complement of the reforms recommended in its note of November 12, intended to renovate the political institutions of the state, bring back self-government in a gradual way, and create conditions under which peace and order will be assured more by the efficacy of these institutions than by fear.

To establish a system of communications that shall embrace all the towns of the Republic, to improve our ports by dredging them and constructing wharves that will facilitate the traffic which is becoming more and more extensive, to initiate all these enterprises of a remunerative character tends not only to promote the growth of public wealth, to attract foreign capital by the facility given for the exploitation of our lands and spontaneous immigration, but furthermore to establish contact between the different sections of the Republic, now so remote, and thus to create, with the interchange of ideas and the example of good habits, a spiritual community that will result in unity, strength, and solidarity healthful to national life.

The Board, the above-mentioned facts notwithstanding, does not consider that a new loan should be floated now, since it would cause (at least if we judge by the four plans that you have submitted) the only sources of reserve still free to be affected, and what is very serious, would cause an increase of a third or a half and perhaps of two-thirds in the taxes on real estate which the Military Government has just established.

To tap the only sources of revenue that now remain free would be a dangerous step if we take into consideration: (1) that we do not possess the slightest knowledge of the effect to

be wrought on the treasury by the tariff reforms recently introduced by the Military Government, which will not be in force until next January; further, it is not yet possible to ascertain the revenue the tax on real property will bring, since the collections for the first year have not been completed, and final decisions have not been rendered on the complaints presented; (2) that in all events, even in case the amount of income the Republic still has free is known, to tie up these revenue sources for the payment of interest and principal on a loan would leave the Republic helpless to face any emergency, such for instance as an epidemic.

To augment by one-third, one-half, or two-thirds the tax just established on land values would be of disastrous consequences:

(1) Because the country, which accepted the establishment of a tax that, like the one on land holdings, meant a just and scientific departure from our old system of taxes, now resents the inequality brought about by regulation of this tax. . . .

(2) Because many complaints have been caused by the fact that the Direction of Internal Revenue does not content itself with imposing the legal tax of five cents on each *peso comunero* on persons who do not possess a single inch of land, and who have only title or *pesos* plus the expectation of becoming proprietors some day when the partition of the lands shall be made, but the Direction asks those persons to declare an ownership of land they have never possessed, and thus, by virtue of such erroneous interpretation, compelling them to pay, besides the five cents on each peso, an arbitrary amount of money; and the complaints would increase if the tax on the land holdings should be augmented, because the exaction on those persons would also be increased.

(3) Because when the new tax on land holdings was created, in order to make it popular efforts were made to persuade the people that with the suppression of certain taxes, as for instance, the 4 per cent on electric light and the reduction of others, the amount paid would be less. Now the clear foresight of Your Excellency misses the fact that to augment the amount of the recently established tax at this time would discourage the people, who would see in the projected loan, instead of a measure aimed to develop the resources of the country, a means of holding them under intolerable burdens for an indefinite length of time.

The Consulting Board, in offering these reasons for consideration, fulfils its duty of making known to you the feelings of the Dominican people; and in accordance with them, it deems that instead of announcing, as contemplated, an augmentation of taxes that would increase the burdens imposed by the high cost of living, it would be preferable to begin studying the reforms proposed in the memorandum of November 12, and the amendment of all those laws which require amendment; for as Your Excellency no doubt well understands, it is only by the execution of a general plan whose ultimate aim is the reestablishment of Dominican sovereignty that the Dominicans will realize that efforts are being made for the future welfare of the people.

The above statement does not imply that the Board rejects the plan of the Military Government to continue all public works on a previously established basis. On the contrary, the Board believes:

(1) That among the public works mentioned by Your Excellency those should be undertaken which are of urgent necessity, or will bring immediate results, such as the highways, the improvements of the ports, the penitentiary, and the leprosarium.

(2) That all other works not of the above-mentioned character should be postponed, such as a building for the Direction of Post and Telephones; a house of correction in the north, and a house of correction in the south; a building to be used as a depository for the Public Finances Auditorship and the Bureau of Public Works; an insane asylum, since we have one that can be renovated at much less cost than building another, and

buildings for offices of the national Government in the provinces, since we can continue using for several years to come those now adapted to that purpose; . . . that the functions of the Direction of Public Works be transferred to a department of the secretary of Public Works, thus abolishing the former. . . .

Should an investigation be undertaken to find out what has been done in this Direction of Public Works since its creation to date, we should see that many sums have been spent in surveys that afterwards have been abandoned, in works never accomplished or which have necessitated new plans before being undertaken, or which after completion it was necessary to change completely or in part, all this being wasteful of the funds intrusted to it.

Since all the changes proposed would cut the budget of public works to less than three million dollars, the Consulting Board believes that the public works mentioned could be undertaken in a gradual way, without any need of resorting to loans, but applying to their construction whatever reserves now exist, and the moneys saved by the suppression of the department known as General Direction of Public Works. . . .

ADOLFO, Archbishop of Santo Domingo,
JACINTO R. DE CASTRO,
FRANCISCO J. PEYNADO,
FEDERICO VELAZQUEZ Y HERNANDEZ.

Military Censorship in Santo Domingo

IN the order printed below the Military Governor of Santo Domingo issued directions for the censorship of the Dominican press.

REGULATIONS FOR THE CENSORSHIP

DECEMBER 28, 1919

From: Military Governor of Santo Domingo.

To: Brigade Commanders.

Subject: Regulations for the censorship.

It is recommended that the following regulations be published and a copy of them given to the commanders of districts and officers in charge of the censorship so that they may act in accordance therewith.

(1) The censorship shall be governed by the following rules:

(2) In order to prevent public disturbances it is forbidden to print in the press, or in pamphlet form, or in any other way, articles of the following nature:

(a) Articles preaching the doctrine generally known as bolshevism or anarchy, which under prevailing conditions would cause unrest and disorder;

(b) Articles that preach doctrines and practices contrary to public morality, as the same is understood in civilized nations;

(c) Articles hostile to the Government of the United States, its policies, and its functionaries, or that criticize them in such a way as to excite public unrest, disorder, or revolution.

(d) Publications that by their nature are hostile to the Military Government, its policies, and its functionaries, whether civilian or military, or that criticize them in such way as to incite the masses to unrest, disorder, or revolution.

(e) Articles defaming, discrediting, or ridiculing the conduct of the Government of the United States, or of the Military Government or its functionaries, in such way that its publication may cause disorders or revolt in the Republic.

(f) Articles pointing out actual conditions in Santo Domingo in a way manifestly unfair and untrue, in terms that may provoke disorders among the masses.

(3) Every writer or editor of a periodical should be invited to hold frequent conferences with the functionaries invested with the powers of the censorship, so that they may become familiar with these regulations and comply with them in the best way possible. All persons herein interested must keep in mind that the purpose of this order is not to deprive the press of its freedom, nor to suppress free expression of opinion, but

simply to prevent such liberty from degenerating into abuse that might cause public peace to be disturbed and therefore hurt the Dominican people themselves.

(4) No person can be arrested, confined, or judged for violation of this order except in cases of unusual gravity; or when previous authorization has been granted by the commander of the district in which the violation has taken place.

(5) The rights of assembly and of free speech must not be curtailed except when necessary for the maintenance of public order. As a general rule, discussion on the above-mentioned topics should be prohibited, and must be prevented after the necessary notice has been given. On learning that a meeting is to be held in which his intervention is necessary, the competent official, before taking any action, must ascertain what is going to be discussed. The general rules that shall be observed will not tend to prohibit discussions from which revolts, violence, or disorders would not result.

Liberty Under Military Law

THE Consulting Board put forward in the following memorandum suggestions relative to the reestablishment of civil liberty in Santo Domingo.

TO THE HONORABLE SIR THOMAS SNOWDEN, Rear Admiral in the United States Navy and Head of the Military Government.

HONORABLE SIR:

The Consulting Board has the honor of submitting two outlines of executive orders: one pertains to the press; the other to the demarcation of functions incumbent upon the provostal justice.

As to the first, the Board has deemed it convenient to deal only with certain rules by means of which the authorities as well as the individual therein interested, could easily ascertain the persons responsible for any infractions of law committed through the press. These rules aim at providing also the method of procedure best calculated to obtain the prosecution and punishment of the guilty parties, without having to resort to elaborate investigations that would hinder such action, unduly delay it, and even render it wholly ineffective in certain cases. The Consulting Board thus limited its endeavors on this subject because, in its estimation, the Penal Code of the Republic makes ample provision under the proper chapter for dealing with all offenses that can be committed through the press or with the assistance of the press; and, should that not seem sufficient, further provisions of a general character are to be found in Article 103 and following.

As to the provostal justice, the Board considers it to be perfectly in order to circumscribe its province to purely military matters, and to bring outside its jurisdiction all non-military residents of the district in which it sits. This would render easier the task of arriving at a proper and well-established separation between the two jurisdictions: namely, that of the provosts, as instituted by the Military Government, and the regular judicial system consecrated by the laws of the Republic, which Captain H. S. Knapp saw fit to leave untouched in his proclamation of November 29, 1916, this document being as it were the basic law of the Military Government that you represent.

It is true that this proclamation placed outside the domain of ordinary courts any acts implying contempt or defiance of the Military Government; but since abnormal conditions then existent have happily subsided, there is no reason today why such acts should not fall under the national laws, in which provisions are made to deal with them; nor for keeping the offenders outside the ordinary courts of justice. It is only during troubled times, when military law reigns supreme so that the public peace may be preserved at all costs, that excuse can be found for considering as punishable infractions acts which previous to their commission have not been clearly defined in the

laws in such way as to leave no doubt as to what constitutes the offense; and it is also only under such extraordinary circumstances that excuse can be found for bringing the accused to trial before other than his natural judges.

Now the Republic is at peace and to further the very ends of the military occupation which the country is undergoing, to make said ends as they were set forth by Captain H. S. Knapp in his above-mentioned proclamation something that will be beneficial to the best interests of the Dominican people, it is imperative to see to it that their rights are given back to them, particularly such rights as the individual ones, which seem to be man's natural inheritance. One of the primary purposes of the Military Government was to help the Dominican people in establishing such an orderly state of affairs as would enable them to perform all duties devolving upon a member of the family of nations. As you will perceive, such an end can not be attained while people are not allowed to exercise their rights under their proper laws and institutions, so that as we pointed out in a previous communication, peace and order come to reign more as a result of the efficacy of said laws and institutions than by respect born of fear. It is obvious that liberty, the medium in which right prospers, is a prerequisite essential to such high accomplishment. With that in view, the Consulting Board recommended and is now recommending, reform of our existent political laws and the adoption of new ones; the suppression of the censorship; the curtailment of provostal justice. By the former a condition of freedom will be obtained, by the latter the undisturbed exercise of every legitimate right will be made possible. Thus, were such a course to be adopted, the military occupation, which has been so diligent in the attainment of one of its ends, to wit, the reorganization of public finances, would also become active toward the other, which is none other than to give back to the Dominican people their national sovereignty, and along with it full enjoyment of their rights.

Guided by such ideas, the men composing the Consulting Board have agreed to share with you in an endeavor that they consider timely and all important; they beg to assure you that no sacrifice will be omitted on this side to make their cooperation useful and beneficial to the best interests of the Republic. In furtherance of this purpose, the Consulting Board, while recommending to your attention the projects referred to in this communication, does not hesitate in asking that an opportunity be granted for its members to undertake the most agreeable task of drafting the laws necessary to the execution of said plan of reforms, and begs that authorization be given to begin such work at once.

The Dominican people wish to be free and independent. Such is a supreme, everlasting hope. May God grant that yours be the coveted honor of turning that hope into a reality!

ADOLFO, Archbishop of Santo Domingo,
FRANCISCO J. PEYNADO,
FEDERICO VELAZQUEZ,
JACINTO R. DE CASTRO.

The End of the Consulting Board

THE "greeting" of the Military Governor to the Dominican people, printed below, resulted in the exchange of letters between himself and Monseñor Adolfo A. Nouel, Archbishop of Santo Domingo, which terminated the activities of the Consulting Board.

THOMAS SNOWDEN, Rear Admiral, U. S. N., greets all Dominicans and all other inhabitants of the Republic and extends to them his best wishes for their happiness in the year just commenced.

He takes advantage of the opportunity thus offered him by this occasion, to make certain declarations which are of interest to the Dominican people and for the Military Government which he represents, and which is the most devoted servant of the

country in whose destinies it is now its privilege to intervene.

There are persons, whose number is fortunately few, who lack faith in the declarations made by officials of the Occupation and who harbor fears, or at least show fears, for the future independence and sovereignty of the Dominican Republic.

In my capacity of Military Governor, I most emphatically reiterate the declaration that the United States of America do not covet the possession of a single inch of Dominican territory. Our mission is not a selfish one, but highly altruistic, based on the fraternity that should prevail among all peoples, singularly so between those of the Americas who are called to cooperate with each other and lend reciprocal assistance among themselves. We are not here as conquerors but as cooperators in the great task of pacification, prudent management of public resources, and new orientation of the generous and good Dominican people, whose only fault has been lack of proper leadership that would conduct them towards the highest human achievement.

The Military Government and the troops of the United States are still in the Dominican Republic; but there is not any intention of their remaining here permanently nor even for an indefinite length of time.

They are and they will continue in the country only for the time necessary for the reforms conducive to the welfare of the Dominican people to be well established and to function in a normal way. They are in this country waiting for the harmful domination of personal ambition to disappear, leaving in its place a noble and useful policy of ideals in which doctrines instead of men will be the subject of discussion. They will remain here until the time when, after some problems of a fiscal nature have been solved, the Republic shall be capable of self-government and be freed of hindrances that would swerve her from the triumphal path that leads to progress, for whose achievement she has so many and such valuable assets.

I do herewith, in this message of New Year, reiterate my previous declarations to the Dominican people, and beg to assure them that their country's future is in their own hands. Let them cooperate with enthusiasm, with intelligence, and with sincerity of purpose in the great work of cementing peace, of leading towards progress, of consecrating the public mind to high ideals, and the Military Government will hasten to place in the hands of the best Dominican citizens the direction of the destinies of the Fatherland, in order that they may make a government of the people, for the people, and by the people.

To suspend the Occupation at a time like this would be bad faith. It would be necessary for us to come back after a short time, for political passion would again break loose and blood would redden anew the lands of Colon's favorite country. We wish to leave a country in which peace has been firmly established, inhabited by peaceful, contented, friendly citizens with whom it will be possible for us to cultivate relations not only friendly but fraternal. We wish the glorious Dominican flag to float forever over the Dominican territory.

I beg to close by expressing to the Dominican people my fervent desire to see them cooperating in a heartfelt way in the work of reconstruction along civic lines; and I hope that this new year may be the dawn of a new epoch of permanent happiness for all who inhabit this beautiful and noble land.

SANTO DOMINGO, January 7, 1920.

REAR ADMIRAL THOMAS SNOWDEN, Military Governor.

HONORABLE SIR:

By the message that you addressed to the people in the last days of the year just ended, the Consulting Board is prompted to believe once more that you are in accordance with the plan of reforms which it was its privilege to recommend to you. You state that the troops of the United States will remain in the country only for such period of time as is necessary to have all the reforms conducive to the happiness of the Dominican people well established and regularly functioning, and this body likes to believe that among those reforms you include those

mentioned in the memorandum dated November 29, 1919.

The Board considers then that you acknowledge as truth that the future welfare of the Dominican people is dependent upon the execution of these reforms, since they are the means of preparing a prompt restoration of our sovereignty, and to avoid the domination of personal ambition and the return to a state of violence.

But at the same time, the Board seems to see, in the regulations for the censorship proclaimed on December 22 last, proof that the Military Government does not deem it proper, or at least timely, to create conditions in which the people may be permitted to exercise their rights, particularly that of free expression of their thoughts and sentiments, which you desire to know by having the Consulting Board report them to you. The regulations for the censorship leave unaltered the system of provostal justice which has existed since the military occupation of this country by North American troops, and maintain the menace that goes with a method in which actions not previously defined as violations of law, and for which no provisions as to penalties have been made, are punished according to the will of a provostal judge or a commander of a district, when both decide that the actions or publications under consideration are calculated to cause disorder, to foster public discontentment, or to bring on any other disturbance.

Therefore, by reason of the fact that these regulations have been made public, the Board believes the Military Government does not think this moment appropriate to carry out the reforms proposed by the Board among which are the suppression of the censorship and of provostal justice for non-military persons, as two steps preliminary to the undertaking of all other reforms and essential to their success.

Should that belief of the Board prove in accordance with the facts, the Board deems it its duty to declare that its mission is at an end, since its members accepted appointment only because they were convinced that the plan of reforms which aims at giving back to the people full exercise of their sovereignty is the only one calculated to promote their future welfare. . . .

ADOLFO, Archbishop of Santo Domingo,
FEDERICO VELAZQUEZ Y HERNANDEZ,
FRANCISCO J. PEYNADO,
JACINTO R. DE CASTRO.

OFFICE OF MILITARY GOVERNOR.

SANTO DOMINGO CITY, R. D., January 9, 1920

MONSEÑOR:

I sincerely regret that the Consulting Board should consider its mission ended, owing to the fact that the Military Governor does not deem this the appropriate time to lift the censorship and declare the provostal courts out of existence.

I deplore the fact that I am not able to see my way clear to abolish the above-mentioned functions for the time being, and beg to state that they have been curtailed, even to a point nearing that of total extinction, which ought to suffice for the present.

The action of the provostal courts has been limited to cases such as the bearing of arms, insurrections, assaults upon the military forces, and the sale of intoxicating liquors to soldiers and marines in uniform.

There are not in the Dominican laws any provisions covering such offenses, and the Dominican courts are therefore lacking the means to deal with those charged with them.

I again state my sincere regret that the Consulting Board can not continue cooperating with me in promoting the future welfare and happiness of the Dominican people, the furtherance of which has been always my first aim.

It is my belief that in forsaking the administrator of the Dominican national Government the Consulting Board is making a mistake. It ought to be true happiness for any Dominican to be able to assist in building his country's future, and to know the Governor's opinion as to how far he can go in the endeavor gradually to suppress rule by the military power.

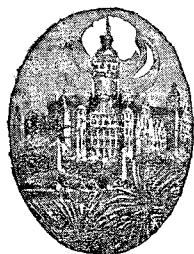
The Board will no doubt recall that it was first appointed as a consulting body to assist the Governor with its experience and counsel, and that the presentation of memoranda came as a later feature.

I take the liberty of informing the honorable members of the Board that all matters dealt with in the three memoranda sent me by that body are being duly studied in the appropriate department, and that legislation is being prepared to fit each case. . . .

Signed: THOMAS SNOWDEN,

Rear Admiral in the United States Navy, Military Governor of Santo Domingo.

To MONSEÑOR ADOLFO A. NOUEL,
Archbishop of Santo Domingo City.



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